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BY

WILLIAM EDWARDS, M.A.

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NOTES
ON
EUROPEAN HISTORY

BY
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VOLUME IV
1818-1870

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PREFACE

THE idea of a Congress of Europe, which had been suggested by Kant in 1791, found expression in the Treaty of Chaumont which was made in March 1814 by Great Britain, Russia, Prussia and Austria. The same four Powers tried, at the Congress of Vienna, to effect "a regeneration of the political systems of Europe."

The settlement made at Vienna¹ disregarded the principles of nationality, broke the ties of religion, and defied historical tradition. It was the work of rulers not of nations. Although the Congress was not opposed to constitutional government, the "legitimate" princes whom it restored generally re-established absolute monarchy. The Congress thus weakened the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, political liberty and equality, which the French Revolution had taught.

The need of a common tribunal to deal with international interests led to the Congresses which met from 1815 to 1822. Their main object was to maintain the settlement of Vienna and to ensure peace by securing agreement between the Powers. The congressional movement proved a failure partly because the jealousy of the Powers made united action difficult, partly because Great Britain strongly objected to the

¹ For details, see *Notes on European History*, Vol. I, p. 245.

intervention of the Powers in the internal affairs of any individual country. The union of the Powers was broken; the Western Powers, which were Liberal, broke away from the Eastern which, by the Convention of Münchengrätz in 1833, agreed to support autocracy.

The attempt to enforce the settlement of 1815 by the international action of the Powers proved unsuccessful. The history of Europe in the Nineteenth Century is largely concerned with the development of Nationality, which by a process of unification and transfer nullified the territorial arrangements of the Congress of Vienna, and of Liberalism, which substituted constitutional government for the autocratic rule of "legitimate" princes.

The idea of Nationality was strengthened by the French Revolution, which made community of blood, language, traditions and aspirations, and not common subjection to a single ruler, the bond of the State. Napoleon I both intensified the feeling of Nationality in France and, by his aggressive policy, stimulated its growth in Spain, Portugal, Russia and Prussia. The "isolationism" of Canning's policy may be regarded as an expression of British nationality.

The development of Nationality was hampered by historic tradition, particularly in Germany, where the memory of the Holy Roman Empire still persisted. Religious difficulties tended to strengthen the old order; the differences between the Catholics of Southern Germany and the Protestants of the North made Bismarck's great task still more difficult; the problem of the temporal power of the Pope retarded the unification of Italy.

But by 1871 the cause of Nationality had secured a large

measures of success. The successful vindication of Nationality had led to the expulsion of the Austrians from Lombardy and Venetia and the formation of the Kingdom of Italy, to the establishment of the German Empire and of the Kingdom of Greece, to the separation of Schleswig-Holstein from Denmark and of Belgium from Holland. But the principle had not been completely asserted. Poland had failed to win national independence, Norway was still dependent on Sweden, German Austria lay outside the German Empire, and Austria retained the Tyrol. Austria had become a Dual Kingdom, united only by the personal bond of obedience to the Hapsburgs, and, although Hungary had secured her independence, the attempts of the Slavs to break away from Austrian or Hungarian rule were sternly repressed.

Other forces helped the growth of national feeling. In some cases economic problems played an important part: the Zollverein proved a powerful factor in the establishment of the German Empire; the desire to free the trade of Northern Italy from the restrictions which Austria imposed upon it strengthened the cause of Sardinia. Napoleon III did much for Nationality; the formation of Rumania was due largely to him, without his aid Italy would not have become a United Kingdom. But his policy was inconsistent. The pressure of the Clerical Party, the fear that a United Italy might prove a dangerous neighbour to France, and the hope that Austria might be used to check the growing power of Prussia, led him at times to resist the designs of Cavour. He favoured the formation of the North German Confederation in the hope that the separation of the North from the South would prevent the union of Germany. The defeat of Napoleon at

Sedan ensured the triumph of Nationality in Germany and Italy.

The internal development of the countries of Europe was due to the growth of Liberalism, which owed much to the example and support of Great Britain and France. Liberalism was the assertion of the principles of constitutional government and the rights of the individual citizen. It endeavoured to make the constitutions it had won still more democratic by strengthening the position of the representative element at the expense of the executive. In several countries Liberalism became revolutionary, and, in some cases, socialist.

From 1815 to 1830 Liberalism met with little success except in Portugal, where constitutional monarchy was established in 1820. It gained its first great success in the July Revolution of 1830, and the Swiss constitution of 1848 was a triumph for democracy. The February Revolution of 1848 partly inspired the revolutions in Berlin and Vienna, which secured constitutions for Prussia and Austria. But in the nine years that followed Liberalism lost ground. The Second Empire in France, the policy of Narvaiz in Spain, the revival of autocracy in Austria and Italy were among the most conspicuous examples of reaction. From 1850 to 1871 Liberalism made further progress. In France Napoleon III was compelled to accept the Parliamentary Empire; the *Augsburg* of 1867 established parliamentary government in Hungary and constitutional monarchy in Austria; constitutions were revised or established in Scandinavia, Greece, Spain and Roumania, and at one time the policy of Alexander II seemed likely to promote Liberal principles in Russia.

Great Britain, Russia and Turkey, while affected by the prevailing tendency, pursued a line of policy which was due to their special interests. Great Britain took no part in the wars of the period except the Crimean War. She strongly resisted any attempt made by France to secure influence in Belgium, but her main interest in Europe centred in the Mediterranean, the route to India, and her policy in Eastern Europe was dictated largely by the fear that if Russia strengthened her position in Europe she would prove a dangerous rival to British possessions in Asia. Russia was anxious to extend her territory to the South and to secure control of the Lower Danube, but she took full advantage of the opportunities her situation afforded of territorial expansion in Asia. Turkey was engaged in a struggle for existence; she lost much territory in the Balkans but succeeded in maintaining her hold on Constantinople, largely because the Western Powers felt that they must maintain the integrity of the Turkish Empire as a check on the growing power of Russia.

Each subject is treated as fully as space permits, and this has occasionally led to the repetition of material common to two or more sections. The number of details is necessarily large, but whenever possible details have been related to the historical principles they illustrate. Full accounts have been given of the leading characters of the period, and an effort has been made to show the relations between great men and great movements.

This book is designed to help students who are preparing for the Higher Local or Higher Certificate Examinations, for scholarships in Modern History or for the history papers set in connection with the various University Examinations.

But the author hopes that the book will prove useful also to students of history who are not taking the subject in preparation for some examination. He will be very grateful to any readers who care to make suggestions for the correction and improvement of this book.

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SECTION I
THE PERIOD OF THE CONGRESSES,
1814-1833

EUROPEAN HISTORY

EUROPE AFTER WATERLOO

I. General Conditions.

A. The Desire for Peace.

The struggle with Napoleon I had been so severe that Europe longed for peace which would afford an opportunity of recovering from heavy losses and of consolidating the territorial changes made by the Congress of Vienna.

B. Liberalism.

The influence of the French Revolution was apparent in the risings that took place in most of the countries of Europe, but the revolutionary doctrines, based largely on sentiment, were replaced by the new Liberalism, of which Bentham was the prophet. It was founded on inductive reasoning; it aimed at promoting "the greatest good of the greatest number"; it investigated actual conditions; it tried to form a social and political system on the secure basis of observed facts.

Liberalism asserted the sovereignty of the people and strove to secure constitutional government. But the people now meant the middle classes, not, as in the French Revolution, the whole body of citizens, and Lord John Russell declared that the Reform Bill of 1832 was a final settlement. The extension of political privilege to the working classes was the result of economic changes, which compelled the Liberals to adopt a more liberal policy, and led to the formation of Labour parties at the end of the nineteenth century.

C. Romanticism.

Romanticism was a reaction against the humanism of the Revolution and sought to find in the past the help necessary for solving present problems.

(1) Legitimacy.

Legitimacy represented the political side of Romanticism. It held that prescription gave the monarch a legitimate title to his throne, the subject a legitimate right to his private property. It strengthened monarchy by reviving the old doctrine of the divine right of kings. The Holy Alliance may be regarded as the expression of Legitimacy.

(2) The Ultramontanes.

The disasters of recent years were regarded by many as the necessary results of the reign of Reason which had been proclaimed during the Revolution. Some thought that a revival of religion was the only means of solving the difficulties of the time. De Maistre, in *De l'Église*, published in 1818, advocated the restoration of the authority which the Papacy had exercised in the Middle Ages, and claimed that the Pope should be recognized as the spiritual and temporal head of Christendom. The Ultramontane movement represented the religious side of Romanticism, of which the re-establishment of the Jesuit Order by Pius VII in 1814 was one of the earliest signs.

D. Nationalism.

The Revolution, an international movement, was overgrown by Nationality. Nationality in the nineteenth century was the recognition of the common interests of the people forming the nation and the right of such a nation to control its own destinies, not, as in the eighteenth, the assertion of common subjection to a monarch. Nationality had been asserted in Spain,

Russia and Germany by Napoleon's oppression, and soon found expression in revolution against foreign or autocratic rulers.

Nationalism, like Liberalism, was affected by economic considerations: the growth of Nationality was promoted in Germany and Italy by attempts to modify tariffs, in Bohemia by strife between Czech labourers and German capitalists.

Nationality as a factor in material prosperity was appreciated by Great Britain alone in 1815, and largely accounts for her failure to work in concert with Russia and Austria in the Congresses.

E. General.

In her desire to secure a safe foundation of political and social policy Europe had sought the support of Authority. The Liberals, relying on science, aimed at constitutional progress. Romanticism, whether as Legitimacy or Ultraromanticism, aimed rather at the maintenance of order sanctified by historical precedent, and tended to become reactionary.

But all sought to find security against revolution and to maintain the established order. An attempt, due mainly to Alexander I, was made to secure these ends by setting up an International Confederacy of Europe to act "as an international court of sovereign judges" which, by placing the territorial arrangements fixed at Vienna on the basis of international law, was to prevent all possible ways of aggression, and to guarantee the permanency of the established order."¹ The underlying Has had found expression during the Middle Ages in the Holy Roman Empire; in 1790 Kantianism had suggested such a union.

The new movement was destined to fail owing to the growth of Nationality, of which Great Britain, in the persons of Castlereagh and Canning, became the champion.

¹ *Alfred Phillips.*

II. The Holy Alliance.

A. The Four Powers.

The defeat of Napoleon and the treaties of the "legitimate" monarchies of 1815 made Russia, Austria, Prussia and Great Britain the masters of Europe. The first three were absolute, Great Britain a constitutional monarchy, and the fate of Europe depended on a few individuals. Frederick William III was too weak to give a strong lead; the Tory government in England supported the *status quo*, but was hampered by serious domestic difficulties and by the necessity of securing Parliamentary sanction for its policy. Austria was exhausted and almost bankrupt, and her internal condition was such¹ that any change might prove dangerous. Alexander I became the leading member of the Holy Alliance and, to a considerable extent, the arbiter of Europe.

B. Alexander I and Metternich, 1815-1818.

(1) Alexander I.

a. Liberalism.

Alexander I had learned from his Jacobin tutor, La Harpe, the humanitarianism of Rousseau, and up to 1808 showed distinct sympathy with Liberal constitutionalism, although he declared himself strongly opposed to revolution. He became the champion of the southern states of Germany, and granted a constitution to Poland in 1815; in Spain his ambassador in 1817 supported the reforming measures of Cádiz; in France he supported *Bourbon* against the Ultra-Republicans and urged the King to dissolve the *Chambre introuvable*;² in Italy his representatives showed active sympathy with the Liberal and National movement against Austria.

¹ Page 181.² Page 181.

b. Autocracy.

But from his military governor Solikoff he had learned the importance of autocracy based on militarism, and although soon after his accession a plan of establishing constitutional government in Russia was considered, it was never put into execution. In Russia the Emperor's Liberalism was a benevolent theory, his government was rigidly autocratic.

c. Piety.

His conscience was troubled because of his moral responsibility for the murder of his father Paul, and tried to find peace in evangelical religion and the study of the Scriptures. After 1813 his tendency to mystic piety was increased owing to the influence of Baroness von Krüdener, and he came to regard himself as an instrument chosen by God to settle the affairs of Europe.

(3) Metternich.

Metternich's policy was the maintenance of the *status quo* and invincible hostility to revolution.

For Austria the maintenance of the *status quo* seemed essential. The Empire was so loosely united that free popular opinion would arouse national differences; an alteration of the Treaty of 1815 might deprive Austria of her Italian territory and make Germany a powerful rival.

Metternich asserted that "the basis of modern policy is and must be repose"; he hoped by avoiding change to secure stability. He considered that aristocratic, absolute monarchy was the best form of government, and resisted the efforts of the Liberals to establish constitutional government, which he regarded as an instrument of revolution. He was willing to reject nationality in order to preserve

autocracy, and advocated armed intervention to suppress any subjects who rose against their rulers.

Both Metternich and Castlereagh recognised the bond of the Quadruple Alliance. The latter thought that Great Britain was bound to defend the *Treaties of 1815* and to meet the other Powers in Congresses to consider the common interests of Europe; but he resolutely denied that the Quadruple Alliance committed its members to armed intervention to suppress internal revolution.

Metternich's support of intervention led to differences with Great Britain. His opposition to Liberalism led to a struggle with Alexander I, who, he thought, was tending to revolution in politics and religion, and whom he suspected of using Liberalism and Evangelical teaching as a cloak to hide his purpose of making Russia the mistress of Europe. Metternich supported reaction in Germany and Naples, and desired to intervene on behalf of Ferdinand VII in Spain.

He was a most skillful tactician; his policy was opportunist, and Napoleon said that he mistook intrigues for statesmanship; but "for a tired and timid generation he was the necessary man."¹

3. The Holy Alliance, 1815.

(1) Terms.

September 26th, 1815. The Holy Alliance was an attempt of Alexander I to supplement by a religious union the Political Alliance of the Powers which had been established by the *Treaties of 1815*. Francis I, Frederick William III, and Alexander were the original members. The Treaty declared that "The eternal religion of God the Preserver of mankind . . . far from being applicable only to private life, should, on the contrary, influence the resolutions of princes and guide all their steps." "The three contracting

¹ Allen Phillips.

monarchs will live united by the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity . . . to protect religion, peace and justice." The people of Europe must "consider themselves all as members of a single Christian nation," and the three monarchs confess that their countries have "no other sovereign but God."

Leopold XVIII and other monarchs joined the Alliance. Great Britain refused to sign on technical grounds, but the Prince Regent signified his personal approval. The Pope disapproved of the Treaty, which Catholics regarded as an example of "religiousness" as opposed to religion, and as the work of a heretic and a Liberal. The Sultan was not invited to sign the Treaty.

(2) Criticism.

The Holy Alliance had little practical result, and Metternich declared that it was a "sacrosanct nothing." But it involved the principle of the Concert of Europe, and gave rise to the belief that such a Concert would be reactionary and opposed to France and Liberalism.

THE CONGRESS OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE, 1818

[The meeting was strictly a Conference rather than a Congress.]

I. The Treaty of Alliance of November, 1815.

A. Terms of the Treaty.

November 20th, 1815. Prussia, Russia, Austria and Great Britain renewed the Treaties of Chaumont¹ (made March 1st, 1814) and Vienna (March 29th, 1815), and determined to hold at fixed intervals meetings of the sovereigns concerned, or their plenipotentiaries, for the consideration "of such measures as at each one of these epochs shall be judged most salutary for the peace and

¹ *Essays on European History*, Vol. III, page 528.

prosperity of the nations and for the maintenance of the peace of Europe."

This was an attempt to establish an International Confederation of Europe, intended, in the first instance, to regulate the internal affairs of France, which, it was feared, might again become revolutionary.

B. Attitude of Great Britain.

Great Britain was strongly Nationalist, and Castlereagh, while opposed to the renewal of revolution, deprecated undue interference in the internal affairs of France; he maintained that no general principles of intervention should be laid down by the Four Powers, but that any common action they might take should be decided by the merits of individual cases.

C. Problems.

The Allies had to decide:

- (1) Whether France was to be admitted to the Alliance and on what terms.
- (2) Whether the Allies should intervene to maintain absolute monarchy against subjects who demanded a constitution.
- (3) Whether the principles of the Alliance applied to Turkey and the Spanish colonies in America, which had not been considered at the Congress of Vienna.

II. Conditions leading to the Congress.

A. France.

The occupation of France by the Allied forces gravely hindered the government of the country, and Richelieu,¹ anxious to "royalise France and to nationalise the monarchy,"² begged Alexander to hasten evacuation. The success of Richelieu in maintaining the Bourbon monarchy and the dissolution of the extreme *Chouan*

¹ Page 32.

² *Discours*.

*Autocratie*¹ complicated the Alliance. Richelieu also asked that the Quadruple Alliance should be enlarged into a Quintuple by the addition of France.

B. Alexander.

Alexander's representatives aroused Metternich's wrath by intriguing with the Constitutionalists in Spain and Italy; strong fears were felt that " he was covering with the language of evangelical abnegation the preparation of a great military force." But Alexander, who was much perturbed by the growth of liberalism in France, gave assurances of his fidelity to the Alliance and urged that a Congress of Europe, to which all states should be invited, should be called to maintain the *status quo*, and that the Quadruple Alliance should be maintained as a defence against France.

C. Castlereagh.

Castlereagh confirmed his objection to general declarations on the subject of intervention made by a Confederation of Europe, partly because it was necessary to secure the assent of the British Parliament for action abroad, partly because he feared that the interests of the minor states would suffer if a Confederation was established, and that France if isolated might become the centre of a new Alliance. Castlereagh and Wellington were forbidden to make Great Britain a party to any abstract union of Governments.

D. Metternich.

Metternich, fearing revolution more than Alexander, suggested that the Quadruple Alliance should be maintained to assert anti-revolutionary ideas against England, but that a general Declaration should be issued to which France might be a party and which should affirm the principles of the Holy Alliance.

¹ Page 21.

III. The Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1818.

The Congress was a conference of the Four Powers, Alexander I, Francis I and Frederick William III attended in person, Castlereagh and Wellington represented Great Britain. Metternich, Capotrias and Hardenberg were present. Richelieu, by favour of the Allies, was allowed to attend to represent the interests of France.

A. France.

(1) Evacuation.

October 31st, 1818. The Congress ordered that foreign troops should evacuate France by November 30th.

(2) The Quadruple Alliance.

November 18th, 1818. A treaty, which was kept secret in order not to make Richelieu's difficulties greater, renewed the Quadruple Alliance as a means of checking possible revolution in France. Arrangements were made for any military operations which might become necessary against France, and the Great Powers actually drew up a plan of campaign.

(3) The Declaration.

November 15th, 1818. A Declaration, to which France was invited to adhere, asserted that the Powers were determined to maintain the close union, strengthened by the ties of Christian brotherhood, established by the sovereigns; stated that the aim of the union was to preserve peace on the basis of respect for justice; provided that no "partial unions" should be held to deal with the affairs of other states except on the invitation and, if necessary, with the presence of representatives of the states concerned.

(4) General.

This conference was the most serious effort ever made to "provide the transparent seal of the Holy

Alliance with a body." Great Britain had insisted on the importance of maintaining treaties, and protecting the interests of the smaller states; she refused to accept a suggestion of Francis that Allied troops, commanded by Wellington, should remain at Brussels to act as European police, i.e. to intervene in any state if necessary. Alexander was conciliated by the attempt to make the Holy Alliance effective. The danger of the spread of revolution had been checked, and Metternich stated that "the happiest result will be that there is to be no change in the existing order of things."

B. The Dictatorship of Europe.

The Congress succeeded to some extent in asserting its authority as a court of appeal for Europe.

In response to the appeal of Denmark it compelled Charles XIV¹ of Sweden to carry out the Treaty of Kiel.² It refused to grant the title of King to the Elector of Hesse. It warned the rulers of Germany to treat the mediatized Princes better. It considered disputes between Austria and Bavaria and the question of the Baden Succession. But, owing to the resistance of Spain and Great Britain, the Congress failed to establish its authority over the Spanish colonies.

C. The Slave Trade and Piracy.

(1) The Slave Trade.

The Slave Trade had been condemned by the Congress of Vienna, but only Great Britain had made serious efforts to suppress it. Her suggestion that special warships should be allowed to exercise a general right of searching vessels for slaves was rejected because the superiority of the British navy would give her a great opportunity of interrupting foreign commerce.

¹ Denmark.

² *Notable European History*, Vol. III, page 232.

(2) Piracy.

The Barbary Pirates infested the Mediterranean, but the Czar's proposal that an international fleet should be formed to put down piracy was rejected, largely because Great Britain refused to give Russian warships the right of entering the Mediterranean.

D. General.

(1) Metternich.

The Congress was a great triumph for Metternich and marks the beginning of his supremacy in Europe. He had succeeded in maintaining the Alliance against revolution, and Alexander had suffered a moral defeat.

(2) Weakness of the Congress.

The Powers had shown a friendly and conciliatory spirit, and the Conference had asserted some measure of authority over Europe. But radical differences had been merely glossed over and not finally settled, and the Congress had shown "that no Government would or could subordinate the particular interest of its own country to the general interest of Europe."

THE CONFERENCES OF TROPPAU, 1820, AND LAIBACH, 1821

I. Events from the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle to the Spanish Rising.

A. Germany.

Metternich wished to make the German Confederacy a bulwark of absolute rule against revolution. Alexander, who strongly opposed the extension of Austrian influence in Germany, had posed as the protector of the several free German States of Central Europe.

Metternich gained a victory for absolutism by the Carlsbad Decrees¹ in September, 1819, and the Vienna Final Act.²

But Metternich was doubtful as to Czar part Alexander would play in Germany, and Castlereagh protested against the Decrees as an unjustifiable interference with the Liberty of sovereign and independent states.

B. Alexander becomes less Liberal.

(1) Metternich's suspicion of Alexander.

Metternich thought that Russian sympathy was one of the causes of the growing strength of Liberalism which, he considered, would result in revolution in France; in Spain the Russian Tschitcheff tried to stir up trouble between Spain and Great Britain about the Spanish colonies in the hope that Alexander would be called in to mediate; La Haeye openly supported the Carbonari in Italy.

(2) Alexander changes his views.

But Alexander was infuriated by the murder of Kotzeb³ in March, 1819, and by that of the Duc de Berry⁴ in February, 1820. When military revolt broke out in Spain in January, 1820, Alexander offered to send an army in the name of Europe to put down the rebels. Metternich objected because he thought a Russian army marching through Piedmont would be dangerous to Austrian influence in Italy, and because he thought that the Powers could effect a settlement by independent action. This argument was obviously contrary to the general principles of the Alliance. Castlereagh objected partly because such intervention would be contrary to British policy, partly because the British commercial interests in the Spanish colonies would be prejudiced if the restored Spanish monarchy proved strong enough to reconquer the colonies.

Alexander also suggested that a Committee of the Allies should be established in Paris to watch over the affairs of France. Castlereagh objected to the principle of "precautionary diplomacy," and again asserted that Great Britain, while willing to join a Conference called for a specific object, was not favourable to the establishment of general principles of European policy.

C. The Revolt in Naples,¹ 1820.

A secret treaty made between Austria and Naples on June 12th, 1816, prevented the latter from setting up any constitution which was not accepted in the Austrian territory in Italy. Austria feared that the establishment in Naples of the Spanish Constitution² would lead to revolt in Lombardy and Venetia, and claimed the right of intervening as "natural guardian and protector of public tranquillity in Italy." Castlereagh admitted the right of Austria to interfere in Naples.

(1) Alexander's Desire for a Conference.

But Alexander felt that revolutionary doctrines were spreading so widely in Europe that a general conference alone could deal with the problem. France supported Alexander, but Prussia, Great Britain and Austria objected to his views.

(2) Metternich's Plan.

Metternich was most anxious to separate the questions of Spain and Italy and to intervene separately in Naples, but he wished to conciliate Alexander. He suggested that the Allied Powers through their ministers should support any action which Austria might take. Castlereagh asserted that such action would mean the formation of a league against Naples, and would compel Great Britain as a member of the league to take part in any war that might result.

D. The Conference of Troppau, 1820.

October 30th, 1820. Meeting of the Conference of Troppau, which was attended by Alexander I, Francis I and the Crown Prince of Prussia, Metternich, Capodistria and Hardenberg. But neither Great Britain nor France sent plenipotentiaries. The opposition he had encountered from the Polish Diet¹ had further weakened Alexander's Liberalism and made him "a changed man"; the revolt of the Bersenevsky regiment² made him still more opposed to revolution. He had rejected Metternich's attempt to secure the supremacy of Austria over the lesser German states and was jealous of the power Austria had secured in Italy. But Metternich, "in a confidential chat over a cup of tea," persuaded Alexander that united action was essential to check the danger of general revolution.

November 18th, 1820. Austria, Prussia and Russia signed a preliminary Protocol which was published on December 8th, and bound these Powers to united intervention if revolutionary changes in any state threatened any other state. The three Powers thus "constituted themselves a political supreme court in Europe, throwing an international police against revolution."

France, with some reservations, accepted the Protocol, but Castlereagh protested against it on the ground that it was "destructive of all correct notions of internal sovereign authority."

Thus the opposing principles of intervention and non-intervention were formally asserted. But there was as yet no formal breach in the *Grand Alliance*.

E. The Conference of Laibach, 1821.

The Conference of Troppau was adjourned and met again at Laibach in January, 1821.

¹ Page 151.² Page 154.

(1) Intervention in Naples.

Ferdinand I of Naples, who, on his departure from Naples, had sworn to maintain the Constitution of 1812, came to Ljubach and requested the Allies to help him to restore absolutism in Naples. The Allies decided that an Austrian army should be sent to restore Ferdinand, but Metternich wished that the armed intervention of Austria should be backed by the apparent moral support of all the Allied Powers; Alexander was anxious to establish a permanent Union of the Powers, and offered the aid of his armies to the Allies if necessary.

(2) Threatened Breach of the Alliance.

But the release of the Treppan Protocol led the British ambassador, Lord Stewart, to make a formal protest which he insisted should be included in the minutes of the Conference. Stewart reported that Russia, Austria and Prussia had formed a Triple Alliance which would enforce their principles in spite of the opposition of Great Britain and France.

(3) The Breach averted.

A formal breach between the two parties seemed certain, but was averted for a time by the outbreak of the Greek revolt¹ in March, 1821, which led to the closer union of Austria and Great Britain, who feared that Russia would act alone and to her own advantage. As the protector of the Orthodox Greek Church Alexander was most anxious, in June, 1821, to protect the defeated Greeks from the vengeance of the Sultan, but the reluctance of Austria and Great Britain led him to accept their mediation.

The Ultra-Royalist party, now in power in France, was anxious that France should intervene in Spain, but Great Britain was so strongly opposed to this course that France decided to secure the approval of the Allies before taking action.

¹ Page 22.

THE CONGRESS OF VERONA, 1822, AND THE BREAK-UP OF THE CONFEDERATION OF EUROPE

I. The Questions at Issue.

A. Greece.

Metternich and Castlereagh were determined to prevent Russia from using the Greek revolt to strengthen her influence in Eastern Europe and threatening the interests of Great Britain in India.

Castlereagh regarded the problem of Greece as "a practical consideration of the greatest moment"; he felt that if Russia intervened alone a European war might follow, and was determined to maintain peace in Europe by preventing Alexander from attacking the Sultan.

Metternich maintained that the Grand Alliance had been formed to keep peace on the basis of existing treaties, which included treaties made with Turkey.

Alexander yielded to Castlereagh's plea of non-intervention and Metternich's argument of the Grand Alliance; he "sacrificed the prestige of Russia in the East to his dreams of a federated Europe."

B. Spain.

Castlereagh insisted on "rigid abstinence from any interference in the internal affairs" of Spain; pointed out that Great Britain had already recognized the de facto existence of the American Republics, and asserted that Great Britain must retain her right of independent action in regard to them.

C. Italy.

The revolt in Naples clearly threatened the authority asserted in Italy by Austria in accordance with the

Treaty of 1815; Metternich had skillfully induced the Powers to allow Austria to re-establish her admitted rights; Austria had shown herself strong enough to assert those rights without active assistance from the Powers.

Great Britain had acquiesced in the maintenance of Austrian rule and was concerned only that the "European system and the Treaty" should be maintained.

II. The Congress of Verona, October to December, 1822.

October 20th, 1822. The European Congress met at Verona and followed a preliminary meeting held at Vienna in September. In view of the importance of the questions involved Wellington attended the Congress as British plenipotentiary. Canning instructed him to insist on non-interference as between Turkey and Greece, and the strict observance of the Treaty as between Turkey and Russia. But the question of Spain was the only one raised when the Congress opened.

A. Spain and Alexander I.

Alexander favoured European intervention and desired to use 150,000 Russian troops on behalf of the Alliance to put down the revolt in Spain. He was anxious to use his soldiers, who were disappointed that an expected expedition into Galicia had not taken place and that they had been prevented from fighting against Turkey. Alexander objected to intervention by France alone because he said that the French troops were untrustworthy and war might lead to the overthrow of the Bourbon monarchy.

The opposition of the French, who objected to the passage of Russian troops through France even as the agents of the Congress, of Metternich and of Wellington, who had been instructed that intervention in Spain was "objectionable in principle and utterly impracticable in execution," compelled Alexander to give up his plan.

B. France.

The French Ultra-Royalists favoured French intervention, as a legitimate demonstration, in Spain. Villèle wished for France to act independently if possible, but asked if the other Allies would withdraw their ministers from Madrid if France withdrew here, and what moral and material help the Allies would give France if she intervened alone.

Russia, Prussia and Austria agreed to withdraw their ministers if necessary and to give France moral and material help. Wellington refused to support intervention in any form and withdrew from further discussion. France rejected an offer of mediation by Great Britain, and on April 15th, 1823, the Duc d'Angoulême led the French army into Spain.

The Confederation of Europe had been broken by the withdrawal of Great Britain, who had refused to intervene with the other Powers although she had not intervened against them. Both France and Great Britain were now following a national, not a European policy, while Prussia, Russia and Austria continued to act on the basis of internationality.

III. Canning.

A. The Suppressor of Castlereagh.

(1) Non-intervention.

Canning had been a member of the Cabinet from 1805 to 1820, and although he might not have acknowledged the right of Austria to intervene in Naples he fully accepted Castlereagh's doctrine of non-intervention. He asserted that Great Britain "is under no obligation to interfere, or to assist in interfering, in the internal concerns of independent nations. The specific engagement to interfere in France is an exception so studiously particularised as to prove the rule." Great Britain withdrew from the Congress

tion of Europe owing to this doctrine, but Canning must not be regarded as solely responsible for the break-up of the Confederation.

(2) *Nationality.*

He strongly supported the cause of nationality; aimed at preserving "the peace of the world and therefore of the independence of the several nations that compose it"; he declared in favour of the policy of "every nation for itself and God for us all."

(3) *Great Britain.*

But the main object of his foreign policy was to maintain the interests of Great Britain. His power rested ultimately on his "sources of strength at home . . . sympathy between the people and the Government; the union of the public sentiment with the public councils." He took advantage of the revolutionary movements on the continent of America to promote British interests.

(4) *Canning and Metternich.*

Metternich had maintained the doctrine of internationality, partly as a means of keeping together the Austrian Empire, which would have broken up if the principle of Nationality had been generally applied and in which "sympathy between the people and the Government" was impossible. Metternich naturally denounced Canning's policy as "insular."

B. *Canning and Greece.*

March 1830, 1830. In order to protect the interests of Great Britain Canning recognised the Greeks as belligerents.

Canning's action was a defiance of the Eastern Powers and greatly perturbed Alexander, who called a Conference at St. Petersburg to consider the new conditions resulting from the recognition of the Greeks.

January, 1824. The British representative withdrew from the Conference.

C. Canning and Nicholas I.

April, 1826. Great Britain and Russia agreed jointly to offer mediation in Greece, and in August, 1827, threatened to make war on the Sultan unless he granted the Greeks an armistice.

July, 1827. The autonomy of Greece was guaranteed not by the Confederation of Europe but by Russia, Britain and France.

August 8th, 1827. Death of Canning. His successors wished to avoid all complications, but the battle of Navarino on October 20th forced their hand and led Great Britain, France and Russia to break off negotiations with Turkey.

April, 1828. Russia, but no other Power, declared war on Turkey.¹

D. The Monroe Doctrine.

December 2nd, 1823. President James Monroe in a message to Congress refused to allow any European Power to interfere in North or South America.

E. The Spanish Colonies.

After the successful campaign of the French in Spain France suggested that the question of the Spanish colonies should be referred to a new Congress of the Powers. Canning refused, and in order to protect British commerce with Spanish America and to obviate the dangerous extension of the power of France, he resolved that if France had Spain it should be "Spain without the Indies."

¹ Page 27.

December, 1808. Canning officially recognised the Spanish colonies as independent states.

F. Portugal.

France was endeavouring to make use of her success in Spain to weaken British influence in Portugal.

December, 1808. Canning sent British troops to Lisbon to help Maria de la Gloria against deserters who were helped by Spain. This was the fulfilment of a treaty by which Great Britain had undertaken to defend Portugal from foreign attack.

IV. Break-up of the European Alliance.

The Metetrich system had been greatly weakened by Canning's policy, by differences between the Powers as to relations with Spain and Greece, and by the Czar's separate intervention in Greece. The revolutions of 1830 broke up the Alliance by altering the Treaty which the Alliance had undertaken to maintain.

The July Revolution overthrew the Bourbon monarchy which the Allies had supported, and established the Orleans monarchy which was the result of revolution, was founded on the revolutionary idea of the sovereignty of the people, and took the tricolor as its emblem.

The Belgian Revolution divided the Netherlands, which the Congress of Vienna had united.

November, 1830. The Whigs, the allies of the Liberal party in Europe, expelled the Tories, who had tended to alliance with Absolute Monarchies.

Although the Powers recognised the revolutions in France and Belgium, the result of these movements was to split the Alliance in two. The division was consummated by the Convention of Berlin, October 18th, 1833, when Russia, Austria and Prussia confirmed the Protocol of Trochu, and constituted themselves the champions of monarchy against revolution.

V. General.

The Confederation of Europe was an attempt to put into practice the ideas of the Holy Alliance. It tended to become an instrument for the defence of Absolutism.

It was a dictatorship founded on Internationalism, and protests against its autocratic methods were made by the King of Sweden at Als-la-Chapelle and, in January, 1823, by the King of Württemberg, who declared that it had "inherited the influence arrogated by Napoleon in Europe."

The action of Great Britain, which, under Castlereagh, had objected to intervention, and under Canning sought her own interests, was a vindication of the principle of nationality which was soon to play a great part in the history of Central Europe.

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FRANCE, 1815-1830

I. LOUIS XVIII, 1814-1824

I. France at the Second Restoration.

The proposal of Prussia that France should be dismembered had been rejected by Great Britain, Austria and Russia. By the Second Treaty of Paris,¹ November 20th, 1815, France had lost little territory, but an Allied army of 150,000 men under Wellington occupied Northern France, partly to maintain Louis XVIII on the throne and to check any revolutionary outbreaks, partly to guarantee the payment to the Allies of an indemnity of 625,000,000.

To recover from her recent losses, to pay the indemnity, and to secure the withdrawal of the army of occupation France needed peace and orderly government. But party violence had been aggravated by the events of the Hundred Days, and while the Royalists welcomed Louis as the legitimate sovereign, and wished to maintain, and in some cases to strengthen, the monarchy, the Liberals refused to accept the principle of legitimacy.

A. Louis XVIII.

The King had accepted both the administration of the Empire and the Charter which was largely based on the principles of the Revolution. Louis was the heir of the Revolution; he made no attempt to weaken the Concordat with the Pope, to interfere with religious toleration, or to limit the equality before the law and the freedom of contract which had been established by the Code Napoleon. He owed to the Consulate his supremacy over the army, his right to declare war,

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. III, page 543.

make treaties and sanction laws. His acceptance of the Charter consolidated the Liberals.

By the advice of Wellington, he made Talleyrand his Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Fouché, Chief of Police, although both had been active supporters of Napoleon.

He wished by a policy of mercy and moderation to win for the monarchy the support of all his subjects, and relied upon the support of the middle classes. But French national pride was hurt by the return of Louis "in the baggage of the Allies"; the commercial class was small; the *Doucteurs* lacked practical ability; the monarchy failed to conciliate the landed gentry. The position of the revived Bourbon monarchy was precarious.

B. The Ultra-Royalists.

The reactionary Ultra-Royalists were "more royalist than the King." They included many returned *émigrés* who had been exiled by persecution. They wished to take vengeance on all who had supported the Revolution, to restore the former authority of the monarchy and the old privileges of nobles and clergy. Their leader was the King's brother, the Comte d'Artois,¹ whose quarters in the Tuilleries, the *Palais Magnan*, became the centre of reaction.

C. The White Terror²

June-August, 1825. Outbreak of the White Terror at *Mayenne*, *Le Mans* (where Marshal Brune was murdered), *Toulon* (where General Rameau was murdered), *Nîmes* (where the heads raised in the Hundred Days by Angoulême to oppose Napoleon took an active part) and *Uzès*. Murder of Revolutionists, Bonapartists and Protestants. Local officials were unable to restore order and the rising was *put down* by Austrian troops.

The White Terror was the first stage of the reaction.

Charles X, 1824-1830.

II. "La Chambre Inamovible," October, 1818, to September, 1820.

A. The Chambers in 1818.

(1) The Peers.

Louis kept the House of Peers, which was nominated by the Crown and showed a tendency towards moderate *Liberalism*.

(2) The Deputies.

August, 1818. Election of the Chamber of Deputies. Owing to the efforts of Artois and the fact that the royal ministers obtained from interference, the Ultra-Royalists gained a large majority of ignorant and bigoted reactionaries. The King called the Second Chamber *La Chambre Inamovible* because it surpassed the highest hopes of the Royalists.

The election of *La Chambre Inamovible* represents the second stage of the reaction.

(3) Constitutional Problems.

The Charter was indefinite on certain points, and the Ultra-Royalists took advantage of the facts that the Electoral Law lay outside the accepted constitution, that the Charter made no regulations for the censorship of the Press and did not oblige the possibility of altering the Concordat in the interests of the Church.

The King undoubtedly had the right to select his ministers, but it was uncertain whether they had to be selected in accordance with the views of the majority of the Deputies or whether the King had absolute liberty of choice. The Deputies took the view that the government must be parliamentary, the King insisted that the constitution gave him freedom to choose, and friction between the Ministers, generally supported by the Peers, and the Deputies added to the difficulties of the time.

(4) Nicholas becomes Chief Minister.

The hostility of Artois and the result of the elections led to the fall of Talleyrand and Fouché.

September, 1815. The Duc de Nicholas, an admiral who had served as Governor of Algiers, was made Chief Minister on the advice of Alexander I. He was a man of the highest character; in politics he was a moderate Royalist who accepted the Revolution settlement. Owing to his long absence from France he did not fully appreciate existing conditions and selected colleagues of different opinions; Deless, the Minister of Police, strongly supported Nicholas, but Vaucluse, the Minister of the Interior, although once a servant of Napoleon, now supported Artois.

As Deless said, the object of the ministry was "to repulse France and nationalise the ministry," and this object could not be secured until the Allies evacuated France.

October 24, 1815. First meeting of the new Chambers.

B. The Vengeance of the Ultra-Royalists.

The Ultra-Royalists, and especially Chateaubriand, demanded stern measures against traitors.

(1) Special Legislation.

Special legislation to meet the disorders of the time gave the Government authority to imprison without trial all persons suspected of sedition. Deless proposed to punish with fines or imprisonment in France, those who incited others to commit seditious acts; the Ultras failed to compel him to impose the penalty of death, but secured transportation to Cayenne as a possible punishment.

(2) Execution of Roy.

July 24th, 1815. Nineteen persons, including Roy, Lavalette and Labédoyère, were to be tried by assize, thirty-eight by the Chamber. The Assize

ment, wishing to show mercy, gave to Ney and others opportunities to escape of which they did not take advantage. But the Ultra-Royalists demanded vengeance on "the murderers of our Kings, the assassins of our families, the oppressors of our liberties."

Execution of Lallebaume *and*, on December 7th, 1815, of Ney. Escape from prison of Lavalette, possibly with the connivance of Decaen. "No crime committed in the Reign of Terror attracted a deeper popular approbation to its authors than the execution of Ney did to the Bourbon family."¹

(2) The Amnesty Bill.

December 8th, 1815. The King wished to proclaim a general amnesty, and the Government introduced an Amnesty Bill which exempted from trial all not already proscribed.

La Bourdonnaye demanded that all civil and military officers who had supported Napoleon in the Hundred Days and all who had voted for the execution of Louis XVI should be brought to trial; although the Charter had abolished confiscation an attempt was made to confiscate the property of the accused to pay for all damage caused to France owing to Napoleon's return.

To support their demand, and in opposition to their own political theories, the Ultra-Royalists maintained that the Chambers could override the King's prerogative of mercy.

Richelieu strongly opposed the proposals; he succeeded in greatly reducing the number of proscriptions and in defeating the proposal for confiscation; but was compelled to agree to the exile of the regicides, including Christ and Fouché.

C. The Second Peace of Paris, November, 1815.

November 30th, 1815. Richelieu was compelled to agree to the Second Peace of Paris, which reduced France

¹ Fyfe.

so the limits of 1789, compelled her to cede Chambery and Savoy to Sardinia, to restore to Switzerland territory near Geneva; to pay a war indemnity of \$28,000,000 and to maintain an Allied army of occupation numbering 180,000 men.

D. Catholic Reaction.

The Ultra-Royalists wished to make the Church an independent corporation of landholders with authority over the mind and morals of France, and to restore lands and privileges it had lost. They proposed that Church lands which had been confiscated should be restored and that the Church should be allowed to acquire property; that the clergy should keep the registers of births and marriages; that the revenue received by the Church from the State should be 42,000,000 francs—double the former amount; that the University of Paris should be abolished and that all education should be controlled by the Church.

The Ministry refused to restore the Church to its old position, to renounce the Concordat of 1802¹ or to restore the Church lands held by the State. But it strengthened the power of the Church in education; abolished divorce; allowed the Church to accept gifts of money or land; and made some increase in the revenues given by the State to the Church.

E. The Budget of 1818.

France was heavily in debt, and the Government proposed to meet its obligations by selling the forests which had once belonged to the Church. The Ultra-Royalists successfully resisted the proposed sale of the Church forests and proposed to repudiate one-third of the unfunded debt.

The Government dropped its proposal for the sale of the Church forests and deferred the settlement of the Public Debt. The majority had rejected the budget and defied the Crown and the Powers.

¹ *See European History*, Vol. III, page 444.

The Dissolution of the *Chambre Introuvable*, September, 1816.

April 29th, 1816. The *Chambre Introuvable* was prorogued.

The disregard shown by the majority for the Charter, their violent opposition to the budget and to the general amnesty, led the Ambassadors to protest to the King against the policy of the *Cornet d'Artois*, which greatly weakened the Government and seemed likely to provoke the Revolutionaries to rise in self-defence.

May 4th, 1816. A rising of peasants at Grenoble. General Dommene's exaggerated report of the rising led Decazes to sanction unnecessarily severe measures of repression.

The protest of the Allies, the resentment Decazes felt at the action of Dommene, the belief that the Ultra-Royalists were far weaker in the country than their majority in the Chamber suggested, the violent opposition they offered to the Ministry and the danger caused by their reactionary policy, led Louis XVIII, on the advice of Decazes, to dissolve the *Chambre Introuvable* on September 5th, 1816, before the end of the prorogation.

III. Richelieu's Ministry, October, 1816, to December, 1818.

In the elections of October, 1816, the Ministry gained a majority of about forty. Richelieu, now relieved of the difficulties hitherto caused by an Ultra-Royalist majority in the Chamber, was able to undertake with success important measures of reform.

A. The Electoral Law of 1817.

The Charter of June 4th, 1814,¹ had not fixed the method of election to the Chambers.

(1) Terms.

February 5th, 1817. The Ministers carried an Electoral Law which restricted the right of election.

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. III, para 328.

to voters paying at least three hundred francs in taxation, required candidates to pay at least a thousand francs and to be forty years of age, made elections direct.

(3) *Outcomes.*

a. *A Middle Class Triumph.*

The new law restricted the number of electors to 100,000 and greatly increased the political importance of the Middle class. It was a triumph for Liberalism and anticipated the English Reform Bill by fifteen years.

b. *The Left.*

The Republican Left was, as yet, too weak to offer effective opposition to the limited franchise.

c. *The Right.*

The Ultra-Royalist Right, although the party of reaction, demanded a *wide* franchise because they thought that their position would be improved if a vote was given to the peasantry whom Villèle had unsuccessfully tried to disfranchise in 1828.

d. *The Doctrinaires.*

The Law received the support of the small but important section of the *Doctrinaires*, among whom Guizot, Bonnet and De Serre were conspicuous. They were Constitutional Royalists who supported the Monarchy, strongly opposed reaction and asserted the importance of *order* as a guide to politics. Their uncompromising attitude prevented them from securing the influence that their ability deserved, and they never became a strong political party.

B. The Reorganisation of the Army, December, 1817.

General Saint-Cyr did not re-establish conscription but introduced recruiting by ballot and made seven years the period of service. These measures were unpopular, but promotion by seniority and the enlistment of Napoleon's veterans in a Reserve led the army to accept the new arrangement.

The Right strongly objected to Saint-Cyr's scheme, which made it more difficult for despots and nobles to secure commissions. The *Extrême* strongly supported Saint-Cyr, whose proposals became law.

C. Finance.

Richelieu compensated the Church for the Church forests which were made the security for the national debt; *rentes sur l'État* were issued to pay foreign creditors and meet the war indemnity; unfunded debt was consolidated on equitable terms. The financial credit of France was re-established and she obtained a large foreign loan on easy conditions.

D. Richelieu and the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle.

(1) The Evacuation of France.

February, 1817. The Allies had reduced the Army of Occupation by 30,000 men.

October 24, 1818. The Allies, influenced partly by the improvement in the financial position of France, decided that the remainder of the Army of Occupation should evacuate France by November 30th.

(2) The Indemnity.

The Allies reduced the indemnity payable by France from 700,000,000 francs to 262,000,000 francs.

(3) The Quadruple Alliance.

Richelieu asked that France should be admitted to the Alliance of the Great Powers and that the

Quadruple Alliance should be changed into a Quintuple. But Canning strongly objected, the growth of Liberalism in France alarmed Alexander, and on November 16th, 1818, the Quadruple Alliance was renewed and arrangements were made for joint intervention if revolutionary outbreaks broke out in France.

(4) General.

Richelieu, by securing the evacuation of France, had rendered great service to his country. His success was partly due to the generous assistance of Wellington.

3. The Resignation of Richelieu, December, 1818.

Richelieu had disapproved of Saint-Cyr's army policy and resented the strong support it had received from the Doctrinaires. He feared that the Electoral Law of 1817 might favour the spread of revolutionary principles. At Aix-la-Chapelle Alexander I and Metternich had urged him to unite with the Ultra-Royalists to check the growth of Liberalism in France. On his return he found that the elections of October, 1818, had increased the strength of the Left, and that Lafayette, the old opponent of the monarchy, was one of the new members. "We have defeated the Right wing," he said, "let us now fall on the Left, which is much more dangerous."

Richelieu proposed to replace Delessac and Saint-Cyr by the Ultra-Royalists Villèle and Cypierre, but failed to carry out his plan and resigned on December 21st, 1818.

(5) The Liberals in Power.

General Delessac was nominally the leader but Delessac was the real head of the new Constitutional Ministry. He succeeded Delessac as Prime Minister in November, 1818.

The new ministry was Liberal and received the support of the Doctrinaires; Delessac won the favour of Louis XVIII. But the fear of the spread of

Liberalism made the Right Center incline to the extreme Right, while Alexander I and Metternich feared that Liberalism might become Republicanism and endanger the peace of Europe.

A. The Liberty of the Press.

May 24, 1819. New Press Laws provided that all offences of the press were to be tried by ordinary law and before a jury, and abolished the censorship. These laws were the work of the *Démocratie*.

B. The Electoral Laws.

(1) Barthélemy's proposal.

The Peers carried Barthélemy's proposal that measures should be taken to alter the Electoral Law of 1817. To overthrow the anti-Liberal majority in the Upper House the King created sixty new Peers on March 6th, 1819.

(2) The Elections of 1819.

The Lower Chamber, which favoured direct-election, rejected Barthélemy's proposal.

September, 1819. In the elections twenty-nine members of the Left and only five Ultra-Royalists were returned. The Abbé Grégoire, who had declared that kings were monstrous and had been the main support of the Constitutional Church during the Revolution, was elected member for the department of Jura.

(3) Reaction.

The growth of Liberalism in France, the election of Grégoire, the expansion of revolutionary movements in Spain,¹ Italy² and Germany alarmed the King and the Ministry.

November, 1819. The election of Godefray was annulled.

¹ Page 64.

² Page 67.

November, 1820. Delessa, Saint-Oyr and Baron Louis resigned because the Ministry proposed to introduce a reactionary Electoral Law which would have strengthened the influence of the great land-owners over the elections, and which, by suspending for five years the annual election of one-fifth of the deputies, would have greatly strengthened the position of the Ministry.

C. The Murder of the Duc de Berri.

February 13th, 1820. The Duc de Berri, younger son of the Comte d'Artois, who, as his elder brother the Duc d'Angoulême was childless, was the sole hope of maintaining the Bourbon succession, was stabbed at the Opera House by Louvel.

Although the murder was the work of a fanatic who had no connection with the Liberals it led to the fall of Delessa, who said "we have all been killed with the Duke." The Ultra-Royalists most unjustly blamed Delessa for the murder, and although he at once brought in his reactionary Electoral Law, re-inposed the censorship of the press, and limited personal liberty by stringent police regulations, he failed to coordinate them; in spite of Louis XVIII's affection for his "dear son," Delessa was compelled to resign in February, 1820.

V. Reaction.

Even Delessa had been compelled to resist the extreme Liberals; the circumstances of his fall, the growing infamy of the King, the violence of the Ultra-Royalists and the influence of the Comte d'Artois compelled Richelieu, who succeeded Delessa, to adopt a reactionary policy.

A. Richelieu.

Richelieu retained the Doctrinaires in the Council of State and relied mainly upon the support of the Right

Centre, or moderate Royalists. He was attacked both by the Left, who were encouraged by the success of the revolution in Spain, and by the Ultra-Royalists, who regarded him as too moderate.

(1) Reactionary measures.

a. *June 11th, 1820.* A new Electoral Bill was passed which gave a double vote to wealthy men. The Left declared that as it enfranchised only 80,000 voters and disfranchised 37,000,000 men, the Bill was a violation of the Charter, which had promised political equality to all. Guizot, Järjes and Boyer-Colliard were dismissed from the Council of State for opposing the Bill.

b. Further restrictions were placed on the press.

(2) Growing opposition.

The Left secured the support of the *Charbonnerie*, a secret society which aimed at restoring "to the French nation the free exercise of the right to choose its sovereign"; Lafayette became the leader of the *Charbonnerie* of Paris (so called after the Italian *Carbonari*). Riots in support of the Left broke out in Paris in May, 1820; a military plot against the Bourbons was suppressed in August, 1820.

(3) The Royalists gain strength.

a. *The Duc de Berri born.*

September 25th, 1820. The Duchesse de Berri bore a son, the Duc de Berri.

b. *Death of Napoleon I.*

May 5th, 1821. The death of Napoleon I relieved the Royalists of the fear of his possible return.

c. The Elections of October, 1831.

The elections strengthened the reactionary party. The Right gained more than fifty votes, the Right-Centre was weakened.

(4) The Fall of Richelieu, December, 1831.

The support given at the Congress of Laibach by the French representatives to the intervention of Austria in Naples offended both the Left and Right. The King, influenced by Madame de Cayla, gave little support to Richelieu, whose power in the Chamber had been greatly weakened by the recent elections. The Comte d'Artois broke his promise to help Richelieu. The two extreme parties combined to protest against his foreign policy, which they asserted dismembered the country, and to demand the fulfilment of the Charter.

December 12th, 1831. Resignation of Richelieu.

B. Villèle.

The Ministry of Villèle was Ultra-Royalist. It was practically unopposed and strongly supported by the Comte d'Artois: it was aristocratic and clerical; it aimed at destroying the results of the Revolution, restoring the Ancien Régime and establishing the "Union of Throne and Altar." Its power in the Chamber was further strengthened by the elections of May, 1832, and March, 1833. It secured the help of the Congregation, the most powerful element in the Paris Police.

Villèle, "a statesman among fanatics,"¹ whose main object was to strengthen the monarchy by internal reform rather than foreign interference, succeeded in mitigating the action of the extremists of his own party.

(1) Military rising

1833. A certain amount of dissatisfaction in the army at Bavaria, Poland and Russia, which was
F.R.

magnified into a "vast conspiracy against social order," was repressed by the Government, which seized the occasion to pose as the saviour of France and to establish despotic rule.

(2) Press Law.

March 13th, 1822. A reactionary Press Law prohibited the publication of any newspaper without royal authority, and abolished trial by jury in the case of press cases, which were to be tried by judges of the Royal Courts.

(3) The Church.

a. The Schools.

A strong attempt was made to use the schools and colleges to advocate "religious and monarchical principles." Bishop Freppel, President of the Council of the University, was given control over schools and colleges.

1822. Guizot, a Protestant professor at the Sorbonne, was compelled to resign and the School of Medicine was closed.

1824. All teachers were placed under the authority of Bishops. The Jesuits were encouraged to open free schools, which attracted many pupils from secular institutions.

b. Convents.

Villèle failed to restore the monasteries, but in June, 1824, attempted to persuade the Chambers to permit the establishment of convents. The Royalist Lower Chamber assented, but the Liberal Chamber of Peers rejected Villèle's proposals.

(4) Intervention in Spain.

Villèle was anxious to avoid war, but the Ultra-Royalists, who had resented what they regarded as Richelieu's surrender to Austria at the Conference of

Leibach, strongly favoured French intervention on behalf of the Spanish monarchy. Chateaubriand, who became Foreign Minister, favoured war as a means of strengthening French influence abroad, and at the Congress of Verona, in spite of Wellington's opposition, Montmorency secured the promise of moral and material help from Austria, Prussia and Russia for France if she intervened in Spain, and undertook that if Spain refused to make concessions the French ambassador should be withdrawn from Madrid.

Villèle wished to avoid war if possible and, if war could not be avoided, desired France to undertake it independently without reference to the other Powers. On December 24th, 1822, he compelled Montmorency to resign and made Chateaubriand Foreign Minister. But Chateaubriand favoured war as a means of strengthening French influence in Europe; the mediation of Great Britain was rejected.

January 27th, 1823. Louis XVIII declared war on the Spanish rebels.

April 1th to December 2nd, 1823. The successful campaign of the *Dixième Armée* in Spain¹ greatly strengthened the *Fueros* monarchy. But Castlereagh, in March 1823, informed the French that Great Britain would not tolerate any attempt of France to swallow any of the Spanish colonies.

(5) Compensation to *Emigrés*.

The Comte d'Artois advocated the payment to *émigrés* of compensation for their confiscated estates.

Villèle by reducing the interest on the National Debt from 5 per cent. to 4 per cent. effected a saving of 25,000,000 francs a year, which he proposed to use to pay the interest on a loan of 1,000,000,000 francs which would be used to compensate the *émigrés*. The proposal was rejected by the Peers.

¹ Page 87.

(c) The Elections of 1824.

February and March, 1824. Villèle persuaded the Chambers to accept a new arrangement whereby all the deputies instead of only one-fifth were elected at once, and to extend the duration of the new Chamber to seven years. As the Left secured only seventeen representatives out of 454 elected in February and March, 1824, the position of the Government was insured.

September 16th, 1824. Death of Louis XVIII.

VI. General.

A. The Government from 1816 to 1830.

The French generally supported the monarchy, were tired of the constant wars of the Revolution and the Empire, and longed for peace. The policy of Richelieu from 1816 to 1818, and of the Liberals from 1818 to 1830, kept the Ultra-Royalists in check, prevented revolution, reorganised the army, established the finances on a sound basis, and by its Electoral Law promoted the development of constitutional government. "France has seldom had a better government than it possessed between 1816 and 1830."

B. Reaction.

"The fall of Decazes in 1820 was the beginning of the reactionary régime which lasted until it produced its inevitable result in the revolution of 1830."¹

The second Ministry of Richelieu, although to some extent reactionary, fell because of the combined opposition of the Left and the Ultra-Royalists, and Villèle's policy, although cautious, was reactionary. Under his government "there no longer existed either public opinion, or a free Press or free elections."

The elections of 1824 gave Villèle an overwhelming majority in the Lower Chamber, and the steady rise in

¹ Alison Phillips.

French Government Stock, which touched 105 in March 1834, proved that the public finances were in a sound condition. But the majority of the House of Peers was Liberal; the nation, in spite of the material prosperity it enjoyed, viewed with alarm the growing strength of the *parti prêtre*, the ownership of the press and the limitation of the franchise.

II. CHARLES X, SEPTEMBER 16th, 1824— DECEMBER 1st, 1830

The accession of Charles X, "a true *despot* and a submissive bigot," meant the continuation of reaction and the supremacy of the *parti prêtre*. "His sovereignty claimed to be a government by *Divine right*, supported and supported by the Church in an attempt to wear men's minds from the recollection of the Revolution and the Empire." Villèle was compelled to support measures which he knew to be unjust. Although some concessions, including the repeal of the censorship, were made, a policy of further reaction was soon adopted, and the subservience of the majority in the Lower House and the weakness of the Liberals facilitated reaction.

I. VILLÈLE to January 1826.

A. The *Assignats*.

April, 1825. The Chambers agreed that the 25,000,000 francs saved by the recent conversion of Government stock should be used to pay the interest on a loan of 1,000,000,000 francs which was to be paid to the *assignats* as compensation for the value which had been obliterated during the Revolution.

The compensation of the *assignats* was defended by Villèle as an act of justice and as means of giving equality to the holders of confiscated lands. It was resented by the stockholders, whose dividends were reduced, and was really a defiance of the people, who objected to the

compensation of men who, after voluntarily leaving their estates, had conspired with the enemies of France and supported invasion.

B. The Church.

The union of the Bourbon monarchy and the *parti prêtre* roused the nation and promoted the revival of liberalism.

January 4th, 1825. The Chambers allowed convents of nuns to be established.

April 15th, 1825. The Law of Sacrilege was passed to check discussion of religious questions. Although it was not enforced, the attempt to check freedom of speech and to make mutilation a legal punishment caused much discontent.

May 29th, 1825. The consecration of Charles X. at Rheims, where he undertook "to protect and repair the churches," strengthened the position of the clergy, many of whom were Ultramontane.

August, 1825. The Jesuits were permitted to return to France and to teach in State schools.

C. The Censorship.

(1) The Peers oppose Censorship.

April 17th, 1827. The Peers gave out a bill requiring all newspapers, pamphlets and books to be submitted for royal approval five days before publication. Their action caused great rejoicing in Paris, and on April 29th, 1827, at a review of the National Guard by the King, the men shouted, "*A bas les censeurs! à bas les Jésuites!*"

April 29th, 1827. The National Guard was disbanded.

(2) Censorship by Ordinance.

June 24th, 1827. Villèle established the censorship by royal ordinance.

D. The Overthrow of Villèle, 1827.

The Ultra-Royalists, as in 1821, combined with the Liberals to attack Villèle, the former because they believed that he had failed to maintain French prestige abroad, the latter because they resented his reactionary policy at home. Liberalism was growing much stronger; the Liberal Peers had thrown out the Censorship Bill; the writings of young Liberals like Thiers and Mignet were attracting popular attention.

November, 1827. To strengthen his position Villèle resolved to secure a new Lower Chamber. The King dissolved the sitting Chamber, although it had four more years to run, and created seventy-six new Peers to overcome the Liberal opposition of the Upper House. In the new elections, which were attended with serious riots in Paris, 428 Liberals and only 122 Ministerialists were returned.

December 5th, 1827. Villèle resigned. His reactionary policy had caused a revival of Liberalism and provoked great discontent, particularly in Paris.

II. Martignac, January, 1828, to July, 1829.

Martignac wished to maintain the authority of the King, and, although in the past he had adopted a revolutionary policy, he now tried to win over the Liberal majority by conciliatory measures. A Liberal, Royer-Collard, became President of the Chamber; Ogburn and other Liberal professors were restored to their posts.

April, 1828. Martignac suppressed the censorship of the press, but did not restore trial by jury in press cases as the Liberals desired.

June, 1828. Martignac forbade any unauthorised body to teach in schools (and thus checked the activity of the Jesuits) and restricted the number of scholars attending the religious seminaries. He thus displeased the *parti gelés*.

February, 1829. Martignac refused to revise the laws determining the election to the Chamber, but broadened the conditions of election to the Councils of Communes, Cantons and Departments. The Liberals were disappointed because he had not given more, the Ultra-Royalists were angry because he had given so much, and both combined against Martignac as they had combined against Villèle.

Charles X had regarded Martignac's conciliatory policy as cowardice; he resented any attempt to establish constitutional monarchy, and declared, "I would rather be a wood than be a King on the conditions of the King of England."

July, 1829. Charles X dissolved the Chamber and dismissed Martignac.

(II. Polignac, August, 1829, to December, 1830.

A. A purely reactionary Ministry.

August 9th, 1829. Prince Jules de Polignac, a bigoted supporter of clericalism and the Old Regime, became Chief Minister. He hoped by a spirited foreign policy to induce France to consent to reactionary measures. Journeaux, who had deserted Napoleon at Waterloo, became Minister for War; La Bourdonnaye, who had taken a prominent part in the White Terror, was made Minister of the Interior.

(I) Opposition.

The Liberals strongly objected to the constitution of the new Ministry, which was purely reactionary, and which was likely to weaken the Charter in spite of the fact that the Charter had been guaranteed by the Powers. Thiers, Mignet and Guizot attacked the Ministry in the *National* and the *Globe*; the *Epistémote* threatened that they would pay no taxes; secret societies were formed to protect the Charter;

Lafayette toured the country and aroused strong feeling against the Ministry, especially at Lyons.

March 18th, 1830. The Liberal deputies protested against the King's selection of Ministers. The King therefore dissolved the Chamber.

(2) The aims of different parties.

The Liberals generally desired to secure constitutional government but not to depose Charles X.; Lafayette favoured a republic; Talleyrand, embittered by the neglect of the Court, Baron Louis, Mignet and Thiers formed an Orleanist party to replace Charles by Louis Philippe the son of Philippe Egalité.²

(3) The Algerian Expedition, May-July, 1830.

May 14th, 1830. Polignac sent Bournmont to conduct a campaign against the Dey of Algiers, hoping that a successful expedition would strengthen his position at home.

July 5th, 1830. Bournmont entered Algiers.

B. The Ordinances, July, 1830.

In the elections of July, 1830, only 100 supporters of Polignac were returned to face an Opposition of 274 Liberals.

Polignac, unable to secure the support of Parliament, resorted to the royal prerogative in accordance with Article XIV of the Charter, which provided that the King might publish ordinances to enforce the law and secure the safety of the State.

(1) The Ordinances of St. Cloud.

July 26th, 1830. The King issued the ordinances of St. Cloud, which provided :

1st. That the newly elected Chamber should be dissolved before it met.

² *See in Foreign History, Vol. III, pages 312, 320, 322.*

3. That the property qualification of voters should be raised, that a system of double-election should be established, and that a new Chamber should be elected in accordance with the ordinance.
4. That no journal should be published without royal sanction.
5. That a number of reactionaries should be added to the Council of State.

(2) Criticism.

The Ordinances practically overthrew the Constitutional and Parliamentary System.

(3) Weakness of Polignac.

Polignac foolishly failed to occupy Paris with a large army. Only about 14,000 troops under Mac-mont were quartered in the city.

2. The "July Revolution" of 1830.

The Liberals, and particularly Thiers, the editor of *Le National*, strongly protested against the Ordinances and declared illegal the impending elections. The Deputies elected in March also protested. The Revolution was actually due to the Republican party, led by Cavaignac, which had gained great influence among the secret societies and the students, and which, unlike the Liberals, desired to overthrow the Monarchy.

(1) The "Three Days," July 27th, 28th, 29th, 1830.

- a. July 27th, 1830. Rising of the Paris mob, among whom peijotiers played a conspicuous part. Lafayette arrived in Paris and became the real leader of the rebels.
- b. July 28th, 1830. The rebels took the Hôtel de Ville and hoisted the Tricolor. The King, who had gone to Hambro to hunt, refused

Marmont's advice to adopt conciliatory measures. The rebels secured all eastern Paris.

- a. July 28th, 1830. The rebels occupied the Louvre and the Tuileries, where the Swiss Guards offered brave but ineffective resistance. Many of the troops "fraternized" with the mob and Marmont evacuated Paris. A Municipal Commission, including Lafayette, Casimir-Périer and Laflotte, was installed at the Hôtel de Ville. It re-established the National Guard and put Lafayette in command.

The withdrawal of the Orléanses and the diplomacy of the Duc de Mortemart, who had succeeded Polignac, failed to reconcile the rebels and the King.

(2) Louis Philippe.

Charles X was no longer a possible king, the European Powers would not countenance a Republic. They urged the people to accept as a "Citizen King" Louis Philippe, who had fought for the Republic at Jersey.

July 26th, 1830. Louis Philippe returned to Paris, greeted Lafayette at the Hôtel de Ville as "an old National Guard who is come to visit his former general," accepted the principle of "a popular throne with republican institutions." The Commission appointed Louis Philippe Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom.

(3) Abdication of Charles X.

Charles X confirmed the appointment of Louis Philippe, to whom he had restored the vast estates of the Orléans family; he rejected the advice of Marmont to carry on war from the South against the rebels; authorized Louis Philippe to act as Regent on behalf of the young Duc de Bordeaux, in whose favour the King and Dauphin abdicated on August 2nd, 1830. Charles X fled to England.

(4) Election of Louis Philippe, August, 1830.

August 5th, 1830. Louis Philippe, who had announced the abdication of Charles X but suppressed the nomination of the Duc de Bordeaux as his successor, was elected by the Chamber of Deputies as King of the French.

(5) General.

The July Revolution was a triumph for the middle class. It finally raised the cause of Legitimism and rendered impossible the restoration of the Old Regime. It put an end to the political influence of the party system, and education and other departments of state became secular. It made the Charter a National Constitution based on the rights of the sovereign people, instead of an act of royal favour.

References :

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ITALY, 1814-1832

I. The Condition of Italy after the Congress of Vienna.

A. Austria and Italy.

The Congress of Vienna had given Lombardy and Venetia to Austria; Tuscany and Modena to Austrian princes, the Grand Duke Ferdinand and Archduke Francis d'Este respectively; Parma and Piacenza to the Empress Marie Louise, an Austrian Archduchess. Metternich, who had given up the idea of strengthening Austrian influence on the Rhine, determined to make Austria absolute ruler of Italy. His attempt was made more difficult by the results of the French occupation,

which had started the idea of Italian unity, independence and self-government at the Congress of Modena¹ in 1796, and had taught the Italians the value of equality before the law, and freedom of speech and of the press.

The common use of the German language gave some slight measure of union to the other Austrian lands, but no such bond existed in Italy. A deliberate attempt was made to "Germanise" Italy, and Metternich adopted a policy of despotism to crush the newly-born desire for self-government, and by means of secret police and an elaborate system of espionage succeeded in checking revolution, particularly in Lombardy.

"Austria had become the dominant Power in Italy and the one great obstacle to the realisation of the national hopes."²

(1) Lombardy and Venetia.

At Milan and Venice Austrian Governors who took their orders from Vienna ruled over the two states of Lombardy and Venetia. The Government was the best in Italy, but it was anti-national and worked solely in the interests of Austria. Every sanction was implied for the advantage of Austria; education was used as a means of encouraging the Austrian supremacy to the scholars; the press was rigidly censored. Unchecked centralisation hampered local developments; Austrian officials were often harsh and aggressive.

(2) Parma.

The mild rule of Marie Louise at first promoted the prosperity of Parma, but the cruelty of the police and the rapacity of officials soon caused hardship and discontent.

¹ *Sketches in European History*, Vol. III, page 406.

² *Sketches in European History*.

(3) Modena.

The despotic government and rapacity of the Archduke Francis IV, the favour he showed to the nobles and clergy, aroused great discontent.

(4) Tuscany.

The rule of Grand Duke Ferdinand was mild, but ineffective.

B. Sardinia.

May, 1814. Victor Emmanuel I returned to Turin. His policy was reactionary. He abolished the reforms which had resulted from the French occupation, gave appointments only to the "pays" who had held no posts under the French rule, and was strongly influenced by the nobles and clergy. But the Sardinians, although disappointed, remained faithful to their King.

C. The Papal States.

May, 1814. The return of Pius VII to Rome was followed by reaction. The Inquisition was restored, the Jesuits were allowed to return; secret societies, and especially the Freemasons and Carbonari, were persecuted; Gambaletti, who, like Metternich, was a strong opponent of Revolutionary doctrines, established a centralised bureaucracy dependent upon the clergy. The courts, which proved inefficient, owing to lack of good officials, and the police were corrupt; brigandage was common.

The government of the Pope was harsher than that of the Emperor of Austria.

D. Naples.

(1) Ferdinand I.

Murphy, who had been King of Naples from 1808 to 1814, was shot on October 18th, 1815, for attempting

to regain his kingdom, and Ferdinand I was restored by the Congress of Vienna. He had promised to give his subjects personal freedom and security of property, and, partly owing to the influence of Great Britain, had abstained from vengeance on his former opponents. He had agreed with the Emperor Francis I to apply to the government of Naples the principles adopted by Austria in the North of Italy, but had generally preserved the laws and administrative system of Murat.

But Ferdinand's government proved utterly corrupt; the favour he showed to officers who had been with him in Sicily hindered the promotion of those who had remained in Naples. The Jesuits were recalled, an agreement was made with the Papacy—Church lands which had not been sold were restored, and the King hoped to use the clergy to support his absolute power—justice was perverted, those who held Liberal opinions were persecuted, and thousands joined the secret societies in the hope that they would check Ferdinand's despotic rule.

(3) The Carbonari.

The Carbonari, or charcoal-burners, numbered perhaps half a million persons, including many of the middle class, some nobles, a few clergy and many soldiers. It became the centre of military discontent and Liberal aspirations.

The secret society of the Carbonari, or freemasons, established by the Government to counteract the influence of the Carbonari, proved weaker than its rival.

II. The Revolution in Naples, 1820.

A. Ferdinand I grants a Constitution.

The Spanish Revolution¹ in February, 1820, led to a Revolution in Naples, the immediate object of which was to secure a constitution similar to that granted in Spain in 1812.

July 2nd, 1820. Lieutenants Momi and Salvati led a small cavalry force from Nola towards Aversa; they carried the Carbonari flag and demanded the Constitution.

July 4th, 1820. General Pepe, Commandant of Naples and a leading Carbonaro, took command of the rebels.

July 6th, 1820. Ferdinand, under pressure from the Carbonari, promised to grant a constitution immediately.

July 13th, 1820. Ferdinand took an oath to support the Spanish Constitution, and prayed that if he broke it the vengeance of God might fall upon him. He immediately wrote to the Emperor Francis I that he was resolved "to restore absolute power with the help of the Austrian army."

B. Austria suppresses the Revolution, 1821.

The Neapolitans allowed Ferdinand to leave for Lûbeck² on his assurance that he was going to induce the Powers to recognise the constitution he had granted. At Lûbeck, in January, he repudiated this assurance and secured the active help of Austria.

February 6th, 1821. The Austrian army commenced its march against the Neapolitans, who were weakened by lack of discipline in their army and by the absence of many soldiers who had been sent to Sicily to suppress an attempt to make Sicily independent of Naples.

March 7th, 1821. The Austrians easily routed Pepe's undisciplined army at Melfi.

¹ Page 64.

pg 68.

March 24th, 1821. The Austrians entered Naples. Ferdinand soon returned and took cruel vengeance on the rebels, particularly on the "Sacred Band" who had started the revolution at Nola. Mayall was one of many rebels who were executed.

III. Insurrection in Piedmont, 1821.

The Sardinians strongly resented the establishment of Austrian authority in Italy, and felt that by reviving claims they could secure the reforms their country needed.

March 14th, 1821. The garrison of Alexandria rose, demanded the Spanish Constitution of 1812 and war with Austria, and proclaimed Victor Emmanuel I King of Italy.

March 15th, 1821. The garrison of Turin joined the rising.

King Victor Emmanuel I, who felt bound by his promises to Austria and shrank from civil war, refused either to support or to suppress the rising, and abdicated on March 15th, 1821, in favour of his brother Charles Felix, Duke of Genoa. The rebels invited Charles Albert, Prince of Carignano, to lead them. Charles Albert was strongly Liberal; he accepted the invitation but withdrew his acceptance the next day, and his vacillation greatly weakened the prospects of the rebels. He acted as Regent for Charles Felix and was compelled by the rebels to grant the Spanish Constitution. Charles Felix promptly repudiated the grant, and by his orders Charles Albert left Turin and deserted the rebels.

April 6th, 1821. The rebels were routed at Novara by the troops who had remained faithful to Charles Felix, supported by an Austrian army of 80,000 men under General Halles. The Austrians occupied Alessandria to secure control of Piedmont.

IV. Lombardy.

Secret societies conspired against the Austrian rule in Lombardy, but the activity of the police prevented a rising.

December, 1831. Arrest of Castelfranco and Pelloni, the leaders of the Liberals in Lombardy. They were imprisoned in the Castle of Spilberg in Bohemia.

V. The Risings of 1831 and 1832.

In spite of the repressive policy of Austria the Carbonari and other secret societies had continued their activities.

The French Revolution of 1830 encouraged the Italian Liberals, and the declaration of Sebastiani, the French Foreign Minister, that France accepted the principle of the national independence of small states, led them to hope for support from France.

The death of Pius VIII, on November 30th, 1830, disorganised the government of the Papal States and seemed to present a favourable opportunity for revolt.

A. Modena.

February, 1831. Failure of the rising of Cino Monetti at Modena.

B. Bologna, 1831.

February, 1831. On the election of Pope Gregory XVI, the firm supporter of Papal sovereignty and infallibility, a revolt broke out in Bologna and extended over the whole of Romagna, Emilia, the Marches and part of Umbria. Duke Francis fled from Modena, the Emperor Marie Louise from Parma. The rebels proclaimed the abolition of the temporal power of the Pope.

February 26th, 1831. An Italian National Congress met at Bologna to establish the union of Italy.

Gregory XVI appealed for help to Austria. Although France disliked Austrian intervention in support of the Hapsburg rulers of Parma and Modena and threatened war, if the Austrians intervened in the Papal States, Metternich resolved to support the Pope: he knew

Russia would support him. The presence of two sons of Louis Bonaparte in the rebel army and the possibility that Napoleon's son, the Duke of Reichstadt, who was living at Vienna, might attempt to regain the throne of France, alarmed Louis Philippe; Cautain-Périer was anxious to avoid war with Austria.

March 21st, 1831. The Austrians took Bologna and, on March 30th, Spoleto, and the insurrection came to an end.

C. Bologna, 1832.

The reforms which Pope Gregory XVI had promised the French to carry out in the Papal States were not made; the amnesty promised to the rebels had been broken; the Austrians, owing to fear of French intervention, had evacuated most of the places they had recently occupied. The Bolognese again rose against the Pope.

January 20th, 1833. The Bolognese were defeated by the Papal troops at Cesena. The Austrians again entered Bologna, and in consequence the French occupied Ancona.

VI. Patriotic Literature.

The Romantic School which flourished in Italy at the beginning of the nineteenth century was Liberal in its sympathies, and literature became "a weapon against despotism and a means of spreading patriotic ideas" in spite of the censorship. The national cause was advocated in the dramas of Pellegrini and Mazzoni; in his Colo di Egeria, 1831, Regenerii advocated revolt against the authority of the Pope; in Armando, Stevio Bianchini attacked the Austrian system. The lyric poems of Ravina, Leopardi and Berchet are strongly patriotic. Pellico's Mis Prigioni, 1832, is an account of his sufferings in the cause of freedom which exercised a profound influence on his fellow countrymen, and, in spite of the censorship, the Lib paper, Il Pensatore, preached the doctrine of rebellion against the foreigner as a means of securing national freedom.

VII. General.

These early risings failed partly because they were local and not national. There was no combination of Italian forces, e.g. in 1831, between Sardinia and Naples. The lack of united, national resistance enabled the Austrians and the Pope the more easily to maintain their authority.

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The Story of the Nations : Modern Italy, chaps. ix-viii.
A History of Italian Unity (Belton King), Vol. I, chaps. 3-vii.

THE SPANISH INSURRECTION

I. The Constitution of 1812.

The Constitution drawn up by the Spanish Cortes in 1812 shows the influence of the French Revolution in its general principles and of the English Constitution in the separation of the powers of government.

It represents the views of the advanced Liberals, who regarded the crown as the antagonist of the people and determined to limit its powers.

A. Revolutionary principles.

It accepted the doctrine of the Rights of Man and the Sovereignty of the People.

1. The Assembly.

The Constitution established one Assembly which was to exercise legislative power limited by the King's right of veto, to determine the size of the army and navy, to confirm all treaties, to nominate persons from whom the King was to select his Council of State. Members of the Assembly were to hold no executive office, to sit for two years, and to be ineligible for re-election.

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C. Reforms.

The Constitution abolished the Inquisition, the privileges and feudal rights; it limited the number of religious houses.

D. Criticism.

The Constitution was an attempt to establish constitutional monarchy, but the weakness of the executive was a serious fault.

It was strongly resented by the King, by many of the nobles and clergy, and had to face the opposition of revolutionary doctrines that arose in Western Europe after the overthrow of Napoleon.

II. Ferdinand VII to 1833.

A. The re-establishment of absolutism.

(1) The Constitution abolished.

May 11th, 1814. Ferdinand VII, encouraged by the great enthusiasm with which his return had been welcomed by the Spanish people, abolished at Valencia the Constitution of 1812, which he said was "anarchical and evil."

(2) The Cortes.

The King re-established the old Royal Council, and nominated the members; the real power was exercised by a small Council of the King's favourites.

(3) The Inquisition and the Junta.

July 31st, 1814. The Inquisition was re-established, and the Grand Inquisitor, the Bishop of Alcala, is said to have imprisoned 20,000 people. The Junta was restored and put in control of education.

(4) Persecution.

Those who had supported the Constitution of 1812 were imprisoned; the influence of Wellington prevented the execution of any. Those who had supported King Joseph were exiled. Many fled to France or England.

(5) The condition of Spain.

The oppressive and corrupt government of Ferdinand VII nearly ruined Spain. Agriculture and industry were depressed, the soldiers and sailors did not receive their pay, the annual deficit amounted to about £1,000,000.

B. *Riots, 1814-1817.*

Attempts were made to secure constitutional government by military riots, but all proved unsuccessful because the general mass of the people, who had no sympathy with liberalism, gave no support.

III. *The Riot of 1808.*

A. *The Revolt of the Colonies.*

The Spanish Colonies in America had revolted on the accession of King Joseph¹ and refused to acknowledge Spanish Justice. Having secured some measure of independence they refused to submit to Ferdinand VII.

Ferdinand determined to conquer the colonies, but Great Britain refused to help because she feared that British trade might be hampered if Spain re-established her authority over the colonies. Russia was sympathetic, and Alexander I sold to Ferdinand eight war vessels, which cost about £2,000,000 and so added to the financial difficulties of the King, and proved quite unworthy.

¹ *Read in European History*, Vol. III, p. .

3. Finance.

The customs regulations were unpopular in a country where smuggling was rife, and the substitution of a government tax for the feudal dues did not relieve the people from making payments which they resented.

4. The King.

Ferdinand was determined to overthrow the constitutional powers of the Cortes, which he had deluded with a hypocritical pretence of friendship. He vetoed, in October, 1808, the law suppressing the monasteries, unsuccessfully tried to make use of his own supporters commander of the army, and showed himself to be the enemy of the Revolution. A new party, the *Sevotas*, was formed to restore the absolute power of the King, and the "Army of the Faith," organised in 1821, supported the cause of Church and King by force of arms.

5. The Liberal Split.

The Liberals were weakened by divisions. The moderate Liberals, *Modorados*, had a majority in the Cortes of 1808, but the measures they passed seemed inadequate to the *Extramos* or *Extremos* Liberals, of whom Riego became the leader. In 1821 the moderate Liberals formed a secret society to support the Constitution, the members of which were called *Asallados* from the gold slugs they wore. The *Comendadores*, a secret society formed to oppose the *Freemasons* although organised on similar lines, called the ultra-Liberal and supported Riego. The danger of internal strife was aggravated by the formation of societies of *Carbonari* and by the intrigues of French

adventurers such as Bessières, who tried to start a republican revolt in Barcelona.

King was elected President of the new Cortes, in which the *Realistas* had obtained a majority.

July 7th, 1808. A military coup d'état in favour of Ferdinand was crushed at Madrid by the National Guard.

August, 1808. The *Sevilles* established a Regency on behalf of Ferdinand at Ugeux, and asked Metternich to help them to deliver him from the Liberals. Civil war broke out in the North of Spain.

F French Intervention.

The French sympathised with the *Sevilles*, to whom they sent financial help.

January, 1808. France, Russia, Austria and Prussia presented notes to the Cortes demanding the abolition of the Constitution of 1812, the "liberation" of Ferdinand, and the termination of the disorder in Spain. The Cortes refused the demands and protested against foreign interference. The four Powers withdrew their ambassadors. The attempt of Wellington, as Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, to induce the Cortes to make concessions to the Royalists failed.

March 20th, 1808. The Cortes, alarmed by an attempt of Bessières to seize Madrid for the King, retreated with Ferdinand to Seville.

April 7th, 1808. In spite of the protests of Channing, the Duc d'Angoulême led an army of 65,000 French troops into Spain. He was welcomed by the clergy and the peasantry. He pushed on to Madrid, thus avoiding the danger of guerrilla warfare.

May 13th, 1808. Angoulême entered Madrid.

June 13th, 1808. The Cortes retired from Seville to Cadiz.

June 24th, 1808. The French started the siege of Cadix.

June-September. Capitulation of the Spanish generals Marilla, Balboa, and Quiroga.

September 30th, 1808. Ports, Trocadero and St. Peter having been captured, Cadix capitulated to Angoulême. Ferdinand went to the French camp, having promised to pardon his opponents and to form a moderate government.

November 1st, 1808. Surrender of Maa, who he held out in Catalonia, and capture of Riego.

G. General.

The rising of 1808 failed because the Spanish people as a whole had no sympathy with liberal opinions and because of the French intervention which was the outcome of the reactionary policy of the Powers. But it promoted the intellectual development of Spain and laid the foundation of institutions which for more than a century were to be the basis of Spanish political life."

IV. Absolutist Reaction.

Violent reaction followed the success of the French on October 1st, 1808. Ferdinand repudiated the promises he had made the day before, invalidated all the work done by the Cortes since July 1808, on the plea that his sanction had been obtained by constraint, and sentenced to death many liberals. The "Army of the Faith" superseded the regular army; Espartero, the King's confessor, became chief minister and the *consejo* was re-established. Special tribunals, called *juntas de fe*, were set up to carry on the work of the Inquisition, although the Holy Office was not formally re-established; political prisoners were tried by military courts. A reign of terror ensued; Angoulême and the British ambassador protested in vain;

Austria, Prussia and Russia favoured reaction, and by the end of 1822 about 60,000 had been imprisoned.

November 7th, 1822. Kings was hanged.

V. The Colonies.

Angrainos returned to France in December, 1822, but a French army remained in Spain.

December 2nd, 1823. The declaration of President Monroe repudiated the right of European Powers to intervene in America.

July-December. Canning "determined that if France held Spain, it should not be Spain with the Indies," and made treaties with Brazil, Mexico and Colombia, which had secured their independence by successful resistance to Spain.

VI. Queen Christina.

A. Don Carlos.

The extreme Royalists, now called *Aggravados* or *Apustolados*, resented the policy adopted by Ferdinand, which they regarded as too mild, objected to the Liberal Ministry of Bernartex, and demanded the restoration of the Inquisition. Ferdinand's brother, Don Carlos, who had married Maria Francisca of Portugal, became their leader. They tried to force the King's hand by supporting 'Basilisks' rising in Madrid against the Moderate Liberal Ministry in 1825 and by supporting a rising in Galicia in 1827. They proposed to make Don Carlos king instead of Ferdinand, and were therefore called *Carlists*.

B. The Pragmatic Sanction.

(1) The fourth marriage of Ferdinand VII.

December, 1829. Ferdinand, who was childless, married as his fourth wife Maria Christina of Naples, whose sister, Maria Isabella, the wife of Ferdinand's

younger brother Francisco, revealed the superior position Maria Francisca, the wife of Don Carlos, enjoyed at Court. The Carlists strongly opposed a marriage which weakened their influence, and the Liberals welcomed a Queen who was assumed to be Liberal because she was anti-Carlist.

(3) The Pragmatic Sanction.

The Spanish Salic Law, which excluded women from succession to the throne, had been published by Philip V in 1713 and annulled by Charles IV in 1789.
 ✓ May 18th, 1808. Queen Christina, anxious to secure the succession of her expected child, induced Ferdinand to publish a *Pragmatic Sanction* authorising the accession of a woman. The King's brothers, Carlos and Francisco, strongly protested.

October 10th, 1808. Birth of Maria Isabella, who was proclaimed Princess of the Asturias—the title of the heiress to the throne.

The Spaniards were now divided into two parties, the Christians who supported Isabella and the Carlists who supported Don Carlos' claims.

Christina was appointed Regent during the King's illness, and the reopening of the universities and the publication, on October 10th, 1808, of a decree of amnesty for political offences won for the Queen the strong support of the Liberals. In May, 1808, Don Carlos was banished to Portugal.

✓ September 16th, 1808. Death of Ferdinand VII. Isabella II was proclaimed Queen of Spain and Christina was appointed Regent.

C. The Regency of Queen Christina, 1808-1830.

(1) The Cortes.

a. The Statute Book.

The Moderate Ministry of Martínez de la Rosa, in April, 1809, published the *Statute*

Real, which divided the Cortes into two Chambers and gave it the power to vote taxes and laws. But the Crown alone had the right to propose bills; it could summon and dissolve the Cortes, and appoint ministers who were responsible to the Crown.

The *Estaduto Real* denied the national sovereignty which had been acknowledged in 1812. It did good by replacing the *camarilla* by a ministry, but although it established constitutional government it displeased the extreme Liberals, or *Progresistas*, by making the ministers dependent on the Crown and not on the Cortes. It led to a split of the Liberals into the *Moderos*, who supported the control of the Cortes by the Crown, and the *Progresistas*, who wished to make the Cortes superior to the Crown and who strongly opposed the aristocracy and the clergy, particularly the monks.

b. Madrid, 1835.

A number of monks had been murdered in riots for which the *Progresistas* were largely responsible, particularly in Madrid in June, 1834, where the monks were accused of causing cholera by poisoning the water. The movement seemed likely to become an insurrection against the moderate policy of the government; Christina therefore took as her chief minister Mendizábal, a Jew's banker and a *Progresista*.

1835-1836. To relieve the distress and gratify the feeling against the Church, Mendizábal suppressed most of the monasteries and sold their estates. The money obtained was partly used to equip Christina's army; the sale of the ecclesiastical lands, which Don-

Charles would repudiate, secured for the Government the support of the parliament.

a. The Constitution of 1837.

The dismissal of Mendizábal and the appointment of a Moderate ministry in 1836 led to Progressist revolts in Andalusia, Aragon, Catalonia and Madrid which compelled Christina to form a Progressist ministry in 1837. This passed the Constitution of 1837, which was a compromise between those of 1812 and 1834. It asserted the national sovereignty, gave the Cortes the right of initiating laws and the Crown the right of veto, divided the Cortes into the Senate, which was appointed for life by the Crown from candidates chosen by the electors, and the Congress, elected by direct vote for three years and eligible for re-election. The ministers might be selected from the Cortes.

Thus the constitutional principle was secured, but Christina's failure to realise that Liberal views had made great advances among the people generally led to division among her supporters and rendered more difficult the task of suppressing the Carlists.

(7) The Carlists.

a. The Basques.

The cause of Don Carlos was supported by the clerical party and the advocates of absolute monarchy. Its real strength lay in Navarre and the Basque provinces, which had retained a considerable measure of independence, were exempt from royal taxation and military service, and derived great benefit from the fact that the line of Spanish customs duties

lay to the south of their country. They were devoted Roman Catholics. They strongly objected to the centralising policy of the Liberals which would have destroyed the local liberties known as *fueros*, and resented the attitude adopted by the Liberals towards the Church.

b. Don Carlos and his Generals.

Don Carlos was incapable. His personal courage was doubtful. He was no general; he refused to make any concessions, although in 1836 concessions might have won over the Moderates, and insisted on his right to absolute sovereignty. He was strongly influenced by priests who, particularly in the case of Cabrera, sometimes led him to oppose his own generals.

The early successes of the Carlists were due to the great ability of the Basque general Zumalacarrqui, who organised an army of 25,000 men and by guerrilla tactics gained many successes over the Christians. Cabrera succeeded Zumalacarrqui.

Both sides displayed the greatest cruelty. The Carlists shot all prisoners; the Christians shot Cabrera's mother in revenge for the brutality with which Cabrera had treated his prisoners.

c. Foreign Intervention.

Prussia, Russia and Austria, who in 1833 had formed the League of monarchists in opposition to the Liberal policy of Great Britain and France, favoured Don Carlos and sent him financial assistance.

April, 1834. The Quadruple Alliance between Great Britain, France, Queen Christina of Spain and Queen Maria Gloria of Portugal.

Thus the Carlists were cut off from foreign aid by sea or land.

1835. The Christians begged Louis Philippe to occupy the Basque provinces, but the remembrance of Napoleon's failure and of the expenses that had followed Angoulême's unsuccessful expedition made him decline. Palmerston refused to agree to joint intervention, Louis Philippe was deterred from intervention by France alone owing to the attitude of the Eastern Powers. But British volunteers under Colonel Buge and the French Foreign Legion fought for Christina, to whom the British Government lent £240,000.

(3) The War, 1833-1839.

Don Carlos returned to Spain from England.

June 24th, 1835. Zumalacarrregui, who had defeated the Christiano leaders Mina and Valdes, was killed at Bilbao, which he was besieging in order to give Don Carlos a fortified town, the possession of which was made a condition of recognition by the Eastern Powers and of financial aid by European bankers. Bilbao was relieved by Espartaco in July.

1836. Ramon Cabrera maintained the Carlist cause in Valencia and Aragon.

December, 1836. Espartaco again relieved Bilbao.

August-September, 1837. Don Carlos invaded Castile and seemed likely to capture Madrid. He suddenly retreated and ordered Cabrera, who was advancing in support, to return. Espartaco pursued the retreating Carlists and ravaged the Basque provinces.

1838. The Carlists were weakened by dissensions between Don Carlos and General Maroto, who, in February, shot some of Don Carlos' officers for opposing his plans.

August 22d, 1839. Espartaco and Maroto made the Treaty of Vergara which guaranteed the Basque *fueros*.

September 14th, 1839. Don Carlos, whose army had been utterly routed by Espartaco, fled to France.

July, 1840. Submission of Oñate in Catalonia.

VII. The Accession of Queen Isabella, 1843.

A. The Resignation of Christina, 1840.

Christina, whose indelicacy and scandalous life had aroused great indignation, now supported the *Moderales* and sanctioned a Municipal Law which limited the powers granted to towns by the Constitution of 1837. The *Progresistas* rose in Barcelona and Madrid. Espartaco supported them against the Queen.

October 12th, 1840. Christina resigned the Regency and went to France.

B. Espartaco, October, 1843-June, 1843.

Espartaco, created Duke of Vittoria, became military dictator, but the opposition of the *Moderales* and of advanced Liberals weakened his position, while Christina encouraged conspiracies against him. He put down a republican rising in Barcelona, but in July, 1843, was defeated by Narvaez and fled to England.

C. Queen Isabella.

November 10th, 1843. Queen Isabella was declared of age and took an oath to observe the constitution. Narvaez, a *Moderal*, became superior; Christina returned to Spain and a reactionary policy was adopted which limited the authority of the Cortes, strengthened that of the Crown, and favoured the interests of the Church.

References :

- ¹ *Modern Europe* (Alison Phillips), Basingstoke, pp. 86-92, 127-130.
Cambridge Modern History, Vol. X, chap. VII, and VIII.
A Political History of Contemporary Europe (Seignobos), Heinemann, chap. X.
The Story of the Nations: Modern Spain (Burns), chaps. 7-111.

PORTUGAL, 1809-1847

I. Portugal from 1809 to 1826.

A. Brazil.

(1) Flight of the Royal Family.

November 25th, 1807. Don John, the Regent for his insane mother, with his family and courtiers sailed to Brazil to escape the French, who entered Lisbon the next day. A Regency was appointed to govern Portugal.

(2) Changed relations between Portugal and Brazil.

Up to 1807 Brazil had been treated as a dependent colony; her commerce had been restricted by the prohibition of foreign trade, no manufactures except sugar were allowed, large payments were made to Portugal.

The residence of the royal family in Brazil, the declaration on January 18th, 1818, that Brazil was a Kingdom, and the admission of Don John as John VI with the title of King of Portugal, Brazil and the Algarves, made Brazil a more important part of the Portuguese Kingdom than Portugal itself. The Portuguese resented the payments they had to make to the Crown at Rio de Janeiro, and their trade had been seriously injured by a royal decree of January 1808, which allowed foreigners to trade freely with Brazil.

B. The Regency.

In the Regency British influence was strong, and Beresford, the commander-in-chief, practically governed the country. The decline of trade, heavy taxation, the poverty that resulted from the Peninsular War, the authority exercised by Beresford aroused great discontent, especially among Freemasons and in the army, which received no pay and objected to its foreign officers.

1817. A plot to drive out the British was crushed with great severity, but in 1820 Beresford, realising the danger of rebellion, went to Brazil to urge King John to pay the Portuguese army.

C. The Rising of 1820.

August, 1820. Partly owing to the Spanish rising, rebellion broke out in Oporto and Lisbon. Revolutionary *Juntas* were formed in both places, British officers were deprived of their posts in the army, Beresford was not allowed to return to Portugal. The Cortes, which met for the first time in the last hundred years, drew up a new constitution which abolished feudalism and the Inquisition, made all citizens equal before the law, assured the liberty of the press, gave to age-elected chambers all legislative and administrative authority, allowed the King only the right of suspending laws.

July, 1821. John VI, having appointed his eldest son, Dom Pedro, Regent of Brazil, returned to Portugal and accepted the new constitution in 1822; Queen Carlotta, a sister of Ferdinand VII, refused to accept it.

D. Reaction.

(1) The Rising of 1823. The Portuguese were now divided into the Constitutionalists and Absolutists.

June 26th, 1823. A military revolt, favoured by the Queen, actively supported by Dom Miguel her younger son, and by Saldanha, who had led the rising in Oporto in 1820, compelled the King to suppress the

Cartas and abolish the constitution. John promised to give a new constitution.

(2) Dom Miguel.

The Absolutists had been encouraged by the French intervention in favour of absolute monarchy in Spain, and feared that the King might grant a Liberal Constitution. With the approval of the Queen they now aimed at making Dom Miguel King of Portugal.

May, 1824. Miguel arrested all leading Liberals and surrounded the palace with troops. John took refuge with the British fleet, which had been sent to Portugal to give him "moral support." Miguel submitted and was banished to Vinosa.

August 1825, 1825. John, owing to British influence, recognised the independence of Brazil, of which Dom Pedro became the first Emperor.

March 1826, 1826. Death of John VI, who had not fulfilled his promise to grant a new constitution.

II. Dom Miguel and Donna Maria Gloria. The first struggle.

A. The Accession of Maria.

March, 1826. The Regency recognised Pedro as King of Portugal, and he granted a Liberal Charter.

May-June, 1826. Pedro was soon not content with the office of Emperor of Brazil and King of Portugal, abdicated in favour of his daughter Donna Maria Gloria, and begged her to accept the Charter. General Salzedo compelled Oporto and Lisbon to accept the Charter, and became head of a Liberal ministry in August, 1826. The soldiers who had supported Miguel in 1828 now proclaimed him King. They withdrew to Spain, where they were helped by the Carlists. They proved so dangerous that the Regency asked for British aid. A British force of 5000 men was sent to suppress the anarchy, and broken out and to enforce the Charter, which was generally accepted by March, 1827.

E. Dom Miguel's usurpation, 1828.

(1) Miguel becomes Regent.

Dom Miguel's right to the throne as the legitimate male heir was asserted by the Absolutists and was supported by the clericals, peasantry and a portion of the army. The Eastern Powers favoured his claim and, largely owing to Metternich's efforts, he undertook on October 24th, 1827, to marry Maria Gloria.

February 22nd, 1828. Miguel, who had sworn to observe the Charter, returned to Portugal as Regent.

(2) Miguel usurps the throne.

The people acclaimed Miguel as King: Queen Charlotte had used her vast wealth to secure support for her son.

March, 1828. Miguel acted as King, dissolved the Cortes and reconstituted the old Cortes of the Three Estates.

April, 1828. The withdrawal of the British troops greatly strengthened the Absolutists.

June 7th, 1828. Miguel seized the throne.

June 26th, 1828. The Cortes recognised Miguel as King of Spain. Strong opposition, led by Salazar, was offered to Miguel at Oporto, but Salazar was compelled to flee to England, whither a considerable number of his soldiers followed him. Maria fled to London. Miguel, who was supported by the clergy and army, persecuted the Liberals, of whom about 17,000 were executed in six years.

Great Britain, Austria and France refused to intervene in the struggle and recognised Miguel. Great Britain and France failed to induce Miguel to renounce his throne.

August, 1829. Maria returned to Regal.

III. Maria Gloria obtains the Throne.

A. Dom Pedro returned to Portugal.

The island of Terceira in the Azores refused to acknowledge Miguel and supported the claim of Maria Gloria to the throne.

August, 1829. An expedition sent by Miguel to reduce Terceira proved a failure, and Palmella established a regency on behalf of Maria in Terceira.

B. Great Britain and France change their policy.

The Revolution of 1830 in France and the accession of a Whig Ministry in Great Britain led both countries to support the cause of Maria Gloria and the Charter. Miguel had treated British and French subjects with harshness, and a French fleet, with the approval of Great Britain, had entered the Tagus and taken the Portuguese fleet.

C. Dom Pedro.

Dom Pedro was compelled to abdicate, and left Brazil with his daughter Maria Gloria in April, 1831.

February, 1832. Pedro went to Terceira, where he was welcomed by British and French troops.

(1) The siege of Oporto, July, 1832-July, 1833.

He invaded Portugal and was welcomed at Oporto on July 1st, 1832. But, contrary to Pedro's expectation, the Portuguese strongly supported Miguel and besieged Oporto, which Pedro energetically defended.

July 29th, 1833. The final attack of the Miguelists was repulsed.

(2) July 5th, 1833. Napier annihilated Miguel's fleet off Cape St. Vincent.

(3) July 26th, 1833. Villa Pizar, Duke of Terceira, routed Miguel's army at Figueira.

- (4) July 24th, 1833. Sagier occupied Lisbon, which Miguel had abandoned on the previous day. Pedro entered Lisbon on July 28th, and an attempt of the Miguelists to recapture the city was finally repulsed in October.

D. Surrender of Miguel.

The policy of reprisals adopted by Pedro, who had expelled the Jesuits and persecuted the Absolutists, aroused great discontent. Pedro held only Lisbon and Oporto, and if Miguel had shown any ability as a soldier or a statesman he might have regained the throne in 1833.

April, 1834. The Quadruple Alliance between Great Britain, France, Queen Christina and Maria Gloria strengthened Pedro's position.

May 16th, 1834. The Miguelists were finally routed at Alentejo.

May 24th, 1834. The Treaty of Evoramonte, Miguel surrendered and left Portugal.

September 24th, 1834. Death of Dom Pedro.

IV. The Reign of Queen Maria II, 1834-1853.

A. The Marriages of Queen Maria II.

Maria Gloria was now established as Queen Maria II of Portugal. The government became Liberal and the Constitution of 1826 was restored.

March, 1835. Death of the Prince of Leuchtenberg, Maria's first husband.

April 9th, 1835. Maria married Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, a nephew of King Leopold I of Belgium.

B. Party Strife.

Portugal was torn by party strife. The departure of Miguel had greatly weakened the Absolutists, but they continued to advocate the cause of the clergy. The Liberals were divided into the Chartists, who supported

the Charter of 1839, and the more democratic Septemberists, who supported the Charter of 1839.

1839. The *Septemberists* owed their name to, a successful rising in September, 1839, by which they compelled Queen Maria to restore the Constitution of 1832.

1842. A military revolution under Costa Călușel restored to power the Chartists, who now tended towards moderate absolutism. They maintained their position in spite of frequent risings, although in 1867 they overthrew the *Septemberists* only owing to British help.

Reference :

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. X, chap. x.

GREECE, TURKEY AND THE POWERS, 1812-1830

I. Turkey.

A. Turkey and the Powers.

(1) Russia.

a. The Treaty of Bucharest.

May 28th, 1812. The Treaty of Bucharest.

Partly owing to his fear of an impending invasion of Russia by Napoleon, Alexander I made with Turkey the Treaty of Bucharest, by which Russia secured Bessarabia, Moldavia and Wallachia became Russian dependencies, and the right of the Czar to intervene on behalf of the Christian subjects of the Sultan was implicitly sanctioned.

b. The Congress of Vienna.

The Sultan had not been invited to the Congress of Vienna because Russia regarded the Turks as Asiatics to whom the conditions of European diplomacy were not applicable.

and who could be made to observe treaties only by fear. Alexander I regarded his relations with Turkey as "domestic concerns," and denied the right of any European Power to interfere.

There seemed a real danger that Russia would further extend her power over Turkey, which, owing to internal discord, seemed likely to break up.

(3) Great Britain.

Great Britain feared that the extension of the power of Russia would threaten the trade route to India and weaken British influence in the Mediterranean.

(5) Austria.

Austria feared that Russia, profiting by her recent acquisitions, would extend her power to the Bosphorus and weaken Austria by absorbing the Slav population on her eastern frontiers.

Both Great Britain and Austria therefore wished to maintain the integrity of Turkey as a check on Russian aggression.

(4) France.

France had maintained friendly relations with Turkey since the time of Francis I.¹

B. Internal Organisation.

(1) Turks and Greeks.

The Turks remained Asiatics; they did not amalgamate with their numerous Greek subjects, from whom they were separated by the barrier of religion.² "No law existed but the Koran, and no Turkish court of justice but that of the Kadi, where the cry-plaint of the Christians passed for nothing." The condition of the rayas, or Greek peasantry, was far

¹ *Noted in European History*, Vol. II, page 145.

better than that of similar classes in Western Europe; they could exercise their own religion, hold the freehold of their land, and accumulate wealth. But local government was utterly corrupt, and the rapacity of tax-collectors often ruined those who did not bribe them.

The Christians were a separate nation.

(2) Weakness of the central government.

The Sultans were too feeble to make a good use of the fighting qualities of the Turks. The Janissaries, who had transferred Selim III in 1807, became all-powerful in the capital.

But even if the Sultans had been energetic, Constantinople was too far away to control local governors effectively: Koca George, a pig-dealer, secured autonomy for Serbia in 1817, and Ali Pasha secured liberty to establish an independent principality in Albania. Brigandage was rife, and the *Kllepës*, an opponents of Moslem rule, became national heroes. A powerful brigand chief was often taken into government employ and became captain of the *Arnaklior* militia who policed the mountain districts.

II. The Greeks.

A. Distribution.

The Greeks were scattered over the Turkish Empire, particularly on the coast and in large cities. But certain parts of the Empire were essentially Greek.

(1) The Morea.

The Turks, in order to facilitate the collection of taxes, had continued the Greek local government in the Morea. The ruler of the Morea was a Turkish Pasha, and Turkish Beys governed the twenty-three provinces of the Pashalik. But the incidence and collection of taxes were determined in each village by elected *Dimotarches*, while Greek *Primates* represented their districts in the Pasha's Council which met

(1) *Tripetitia*. The Primates and *païstas* became the real leaders of the Revolution.

The *Mainotes* of Laconia, in the South, were turbulent mountaineers who acknowledged Turkish authority only under military compulsion.

(2) The *Spartan Islands*.

The "Spartan Islands" of Hydra, Sparta and Psara paid a tribute of about £100 a year to the Sultan and supplied sailors to the Turkish navy, but were politically independent. In Hydra there was a large Mohammedan population in addition to the Greeks, but the island was peaceful and maritime trade and the development of local industry (particularly dyestuffs and embroidery) made it prosperous. The Ionian Isles, which became a dependency of Great Britain in 1815,¹ were independent of the Sultan.

Greek trading ships, which were heavily armed to resist the Barbary pirates, had sailed under the Russian flag since the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji in 1774. They profited greatly by the extinction of the Venetian Republic. They carried the large amount of grain exported from Odessa, secured much of the trade of the Levant; Greek colonies were established in Marseilles, Trieste, Odessa and London. In 1816 the Greek Islanders possessed about 600 vessels, many of large size and well armed, and a force of some 17,000 skilled and daring sailors. The Greek merchant ships proved a most valuable naval force in the Revolution.

(3) *Thessaly*.

In Thessaly a rough military organisation had provided a loose bond of union among the Greeks.

(4) The *Phanariotes*.

The Greeks living in Constantinople were called Phanariotes, from the district of Phanar where they

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. III, p. 269.

Evad. They included lawyers, merchants, government officials. Greeks always held the office of Dragoman¹ of the Fleet, Dragoman of the Porte, Governors² of Wallachia and of Roumania. The Phanariots were highly educated, and rich Phanariot merchants founded schools at Bucharest, Cozlu and Constantinople.

B. Greek Nationality.

By the end of the eighteenth century some idea of national unity had been devised, and it found expression in the unsuccessful attempt in 1770 to support Catherine II's plan to establish a Greek kingdom as a means of weakening the Turks. The village communities of the Morea led to vigorous local union; the Greek Church and the Greek language made local into national unity.

Greece was composed not only by pure Greeks but by Albanians who had settled in the Morea, Central Greece, and the Sporadic Islands, and community of religion and language formed a national bond which overcame the tendency to separatism which resulted from difference of origin.

(1) The Greek Church.

The Sultan maintained the organization of the Greek Church as a means of government, and the Patriarch was regarded as the secular as well as the religious head of the Greeks. The Patriarch was absolutely subject to the Sultan, but the existence of an acknowledged head gave unity to the Church. Greek bishops were appointed, often after heavy bribery, by the Patriarch, and, although the capriciousness of some aroused great indignation, their ecclesiastical position and the fact that they exercised jurisdiction in lawsuits between Christians made them the representatives of Greek nationality in their dioceses. The parish priests, who were married and lived in close
 1. Secretary. 2. These were called Hospodars.

touch with their people, exercised considerable influence in the villages of the Morea.

(2) The Greek Language and Literature.

Classical Greek was studied in the schools now founded by wealthy merchants, and Philhellenism was an attempt to revive the traditions of the classical times.

The spoken language had been corrupted by the addition of Albanian, Slav and other foreign elements. Karamanlis (1748-1826) not only popularised the Hellenic authors most likely to appeal to the national feeling of his fellow-countrymen, but, by purging the colloquial language of its impurities and applying to it where possible the old classical constructions, formed the Modern Greek language.

The Greeks, who had previously called themselves *Romaniotai*, now resumed the old name of Hellenes. They aimed not at restoring the old city-states of Greece but at re-establishing the Greek Byzantine Empire. The work of the Philhellenes, and especially of Koraïs, supplied a language and tradition which linked the new Greek State with an inspiring past.

C. The Hetaïria Philike.

The French Revolution, with its teaching of Liberty and Equality, made a strong appeal to the Greek subjects of Turkey. The patriotic songs of Koraïs, who was executed by the Turks in 1788, stimulated national feeling. Secret societies were formed to arouse national resistance to the Turks.

1814. Foundation at Odessa of the Hetaïria Philike, the best known of these societies. Undiscovered by the Turks it enrolled recruits, gathered arms and plotted a revolution. The members hoped, without justification, for the active support of Russia, but in 1820 Capodistrias, the Greek Foreign Minister of Alexander I, refused their

invited to lead them against the Turks. Prince Alexander Hypekanti accepted the leadership.

III. The Rising in the Danubian Principalities.

Hypekanti was an officer in the Russian army whose grandfather had been Hospodar of Wallachia. He may have been encouraged by Capodistrias to revolt against the Turks, and definitely asserted that "A Great Power"¹ would help him.

1829. Revolt of Ali Pasha of Janina against the Turks. The Hetairists thought that their chances of success would be increased owing to the despatch of considerable Turkish forces to crush Ali.

Contrary to the advice of the Hetairists, who wished the rising to begin in the Morea, Hypekanti determined to commence the rising on the Danube. The decision was unwise, because although there were few Turkish troops in the Principalities the people had been cruelly oppressed by means of the Hospodars and hated the Greeks. Hypekanti gathered a force of 2000 men at Jassy, but he foolishly remained there instead of passing on to Galatz and securing the line of the Danube. His delay gave the Turks time to gather their forces; Alexander I repudiated the rising, and the Greek Patriarch at Constantinople excommunicated Hypekanti and his followers.

—March 4th, 1821. Massacre of Turks at Galatz.

March 7th, 1821. Hypekanti entered Jassy.

June 18th, 1821. Hypekanti was routed at Dragutshan and fled to Austria, where he was imprisoned. The last of the rebels were annihilated at Skaleni.

IV. The Rising in the Morea, 1821.

A. General.

The rising in the Morea was not, like that in the Principalities, the work of a few, but the national move-

¹ i.e. Russia.

ment of a whole people; it received the strong support of the clergy, led by Archbishop Germanos of Patras; it was a war of race and religion, and both sides showed appalling cruelty to their opponents. The revolt of Ali Pasha prevented the best of the Turkish troops from crushing the revolt at its start: the rising of the islands gave the Greeks the command of the sea.

2. The Greeks and Europe, 1821-1824.

The Powers remained officially neutral, but the cause of the Greeks was warmly supported in Western Europe as the cause of Christianity against Islam; it was supported by Liberals as an assertion of freedom against tyranny, and by those who were influenced by classical tradition. So many foreign volunteers helped the Greeks that the Turks declared they were fighting Europe and not Greece.

3. The First Period of the War, 1821-1824.

During this period the Greeks and Turks were the only combatants, although the former were assisted by volunteers from the West, of whom Colonel Fabvier, an old officer of Napoleon, Sir Richard Church and Lord Byron were the most famous. The war was a "war of atrocities."

Prince Demetrios Hypsilanti and Prince Mavrocordatos tried to establish a Constitution, but the leadership of the movement fell into the hands of brigand chiefs like Kolokotronis and the Filiktes who controlled local organisation.

(1) 1821.

a. The Outbreak.

April 2nd, 1821. The revolt began as a popular rising. Most of the 25,000 Mahomedans who lived in the Morea were brutally murdered: many perished after the surrender

of Saravino in August, and 2000 were massacred after the capture of Tripolitsa on October 5th, 1821.

Central Greece rose in revolt, but, fortunately for the Turks, Thessaly, which might have attacked the rear of the Turkish forces, generally remained quiet.

b. Turkish Repressals.

April 22nd, 1821. Execution by the Pasha of Gagraion, Patriarch of Constantinople, and the Archbishops of Adrianople and Selassika. General massacre of the Greeks in Smyrna, Adrianople and Constantinople.

c. Russia.

The Russians justly complained that Russian vessels had been searched at Constantinople, that Turkish Pashas and not Hospodars were ruling in the Principalities in defiance of the Treaty of Bucharest. The whole nation was infuriated by the execution of the Patriarch without any trial, and clamoured for war. Great Britain refused to join Russia in joint action against Turkey; Metternich, who feared that war between Turkey and Greece would lead to a European conflagration, dissuaded Alexander I from declaring war, but on July 27th, 1821, after a Russian despatch demanding that the massacres of the Christians should cease had been ignored by the Sultan, the Russian ambassador was withdrawn from Constantinople and Russia concentrated 100,000 troops on the borders of the Principalities.

(2) The War in 1822.

a. The Fall of Jannina and its results.

February, 1822. The fall of Jannina and the

death of Ali Pasha released Turkish troops for service in the Morea.

July 18th, 1822. Omar Brakia, operating in the west, was opposed by the Balista, but defeated Mavrocordatos, who had gone to their help, at Arta. Omar failed to capture Missolonghi (November, 1822-January, 1823).

August, 1822. Dramadi, who had crossed the Isthmus of Corinth and had been checked by the gallant resistance of Argos under Mavrocordatos, was routed by Kolokotronis in the Isthmus of Corinth, the passes of which he had foolishly neglected to occupy.

b. The Islands.

April, 1822. The Turks massacred the whole population of Chios, of whom at least 30,000 were slain or enslaved.

June 18th, 1822. Kanaria destroyed a Turkish flagship, 300 Turks perished.

c. Dissensions among the Greeks.

The defeat of the Turks was followed by disputes between the military party under Kolokotronis and the civil authorities, who supported the constitution which had been proclaimed on January 1st, 1822. Disputes arose between different districts, and the undue favour shown by the Government to the Islands caused great discontent on the mainland. Kolokotronis was defeated and imprisoned, but dissensions weakened the Greek cause.

1823-1824. Greece and the Powers.

A. Great Britain recognises the Greeks, 1823.

Canning, whose policy was (negot) rather than European, desired in the interests of Great Britain to make peace and to maintain the integrity of Turkey as

a means of checking Russia. Largely owing to the influence of Britain, the Sultan had agreed to evacuate the Principality and recognise the rights of Russian ships in the Bosphorus. But the continued resistance of the Greeks made a settlement difficult; the maritime Greeks, who had driven the Turks from the sea, committed many acts of piracy.

March 22th, 1825. Canning, realising "the impossibility of treating as pirates a population of a million souls," recognised the Greeks as belligerents.

B. Alexander proposes a Conference.

Alexander I thought that Britain, which had refused his previous offer of joint intervention and refused to acknowledge the right of Russia to protect Greek Christians, was trying to weaken the influence of Russia in the East; by recognising revolutionaries as belligerents Great Britain definitely repudiated the principles of the Grand Alliance.

Russia had fallen into a "diplomatic trap": she could not help the Sultan to crush Greek Christians; if she helped the Greeks she would be acting contrary to the principles of the Grand Alliance; the Greeks whom Britain had recognised as belligerents could not be treated merely as rebels.

January, 1824. Alexander, feeling that the Powers must intervene in the interests of Europe, proposed that a Conference should be held to arrange for united intervention by the Powers, and that three independent Principalities should be created in Greece subject to the suzerainty of the Sultan and guaranteed by the Powers.

Mettetrich, fearing that Russia would secure undue influence in such Principalities, proposed instead that Greece should be recognised as an independent State.

Great Britain withdraws from the Conference, 1824.

January, 1824. Canning withdrew from the Conference partly because he objected to acting as a buffer

between Russia and Austria, partly because the Turks objected to any foreign intervention, and the Greeks refused to be bound by the decisions of the Conference.

[April 19th, 1826. Death at Missolonghi of Lord Byron.]

D. Mehmet Ali, 1824-1827.

(1) The Pacha of Egypt helps the Sultan.

The Sultan Mahmud II, realising that Turkey alone could not conquer the Greeks, secured the help of Mehmet Ali, the powerful Pacha of Egypt, to whom he promised Crete and Syria.

April, 1824. Mehmet's son Ibrahim secured Crete as a base of operations, partly because dissensions among the Greeks weakened their opposition.

(2) Ibrahim conquered the Morea.

July, 1824. Ibrahim took Patra and exterminated the Fanariotes.

October, 1824. The Greeks defeated Ibrahim's fleet off Mytilene.

February 18th, 1825. Ibrahim landed at Modon in the Morea with five thousand disciplined men. Ibrahim, in spite of gallant resistance by Kakodimoneas, who was brought from prison to fight, overran the Morea and took Sydonesia, Nавarinas and Tripolita. He exterminated the people of the Morea, devastated the country and, possibly, proposed to introduce a new population of Egyptian peasants and negroes.

April, 1825-April, 1826. Heroic defence of Missolonghi.

June 16th, 1827. Ibrahim took the Acropolis of Athens.

E. The Protocol of St. Petersburg.

The cruelty of Ibrahim and the gallant defence of Missolonghi led Russia and Great Britain to abandon

their former policy of non-intervention. But Britain objected to the cession of Turkey, while Alexander was hampered by serious disaffection in the Russian army due to his failure to give the constitutional reforms he had promised.

December 1st, 1828. Death of Alexander I. His successor, Nicholas I, was inspired with the "principle of autocracy and the spirit of Holy Russia." He put down the Decabrist conspiracy, determined to end the war in Greece, broke away from the Holy Alliance.

March 17th, 1828. Russia sent an ultimatum to the Sultan demanding that the Turks should evacuate the Principality.

The British Government's "good offices" had been sought by the Greeks, and Canning was unwilling to allow Russia a free hand in Turkey.

April 8th, 1828. By the Protocol of St. Petersburg Great Britain and Russia agreed that Greece should be made an autonomous state tributary to the Sultan, and that all Turks should leave Greece. The Protocol was the first step towards the independence of Greece.

The Sultan, encouraged by Metternich, objected to the presentation of new demands before those of March had been fully considered, but his military power was weakened by the destruction in June, 1828, of the Danubian.

October 7th, 1828. The Sultan accepted the Convention of Adrianople and agreed to evacuate the Principality, to give Russia the free navigation of the Danubian, and cede some fortresses in Circassia.

F. The Treaty of London, 1827.

Austria and Prussia refused to accept the Protocol of St. Petersburg.

Canning, who became Prime Minister in April, 1827, was most anxious to avoid active interference in Greece. He feared that Nicholas might make an agreement with Mehmet Ali to divide Turkey between them; he thought that concerted action with Austria might

prevent the undue extension of Russian influence. He resisted the attempt of Nicholas to enforce the Protocol immediately, and Wellington refused to believe that Bismarck really proposed to depopulate the Moria. But the refusal of the Sultan to accept the Protocol led Canning to act with Russia.

France, where both Liberals and Reactionaries sympathized with Greece, was anxious, in view of the breach between Russia and Austria, to form an alliance with Russia.

July 6th, 1827. Great Britain, Russia and France made the Treaty of London and agreed to use force to compel Turkey to accept the Protocol if she refused to conclude an armistice. Greece was to be made autonomous under the suzerainty of the Sultan, and the king was to be selected from one of the ruling houses of Europe. But secret articles provided that if necessary an armistice should be enforced on both Greeks and Turks by means that "might suggest themselves to the prudence" of the three Powers.

G. Navarino, October, 1827.

(I) Orders to the Admirals.

The Admirals commanding the British, French and Russian fleets in the Mediterranean were ordered to set up a "pacific" blockade of Ibrahim's army, and were authorised to use force if necessary to compel the combatants to make peace. The Greeks accepted the armistice; the Turks refused, and in consequence the pressure of the Allies was directed against them alone.

(2) The Allies waver.

But the Allies now wavered. Nicholas regretted his severance from Austria and Prussia. Canning died on August 24th, 1827, and the new Tory government, supported by France, objected to an effective

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blockade of the Greek coast and were unwilling rightly to enforce the recent Treaty of London. On October 20th, Metternich, who in the interests of Europe was most anxious to avoid war, attempted in vain to secure a peaceful settlement.

(3) The Battle of Navarino.

September 23rd, 1827. The Greeks destroyed a Turkish fleet off Salona. Daskin sailed from Navarino to take vengeance on the Greeks, but Collington compelled him to return. Daskin ravaged the mainland.

October 20th, 1827. The united British, French and Russian fleets under Collington destroyed the Turkish fleet in the Bay of Navarino.

(4) Effects of Navarino.

"For Europe," wrote Metternich, "the event of October 20th began a new era."

The British Government would have done best in these difficult circumstances to have joined with Russia in an aggressive policy, as France advised, but Wellington, who became Prime Minister in January, 1828, was determined to maintain the integrity of Turkey, refused to enforce the Treaty of London by arms, protested against Nicholas' desire to occupy the Principalities, and declared in the King's Speech on January 25th, 1828, that the Battle of Navarino was an "eventful event."¹

The Sultan, who was at peace with Russia, France and Britain, was furious at "this revolting outrage" which ended the friendly relations which had long existed between Britain and Turkey. On December 20th he proclaimed a Holy War against the infidel and denounced the Treaty of Ackerman as null and void.

¹ King William IV sent to Collington a telegram, "Well done, Sir."

Nicholas I, who regarded the battle as a proof that the Allies were willing to compel Turkey by force to accept the Treaty of London, proposed to occupy the Principalities immediately and urged Great Britain and France to force the Dardanelles and threaten Constantinople. The suspicions of Great Britain were not allayed by a Protocol of December 12th, 1827, whereby the three Powers renounced all commercial and territorial advantages they might have derived from the war.

VI. The Russo-Turkish War, 1828-1829.

A. Nicholas declared War, April, 1828.

The Sultan's proclamation of a Holy War, which was to be directed specially against Russia, led Nicholas to declare war on Turkey on April 28th, 1828. To appease the fears of Great Britain he promised to recognise the neutrality of the Mediterranean and to maintain so far as possible the Treaty of London.

B. The War.

Turkey was weakened by the destruction of the Janissaries and the Greek war, but the Turks showed unexpected powers of resistance. They avoided pitched battles and defended with great bravery the towns the Russians attacked.

1828. The Russians took Ibraila in June and Varna in October, but Shumla and Silistria held out against them.

[July 19th, 1828. Russia, Great Britain and France authorised the armed intervention of France in the Morea.

August 9th, 1828. Mehmet Ali made with Cad-rington a convention by which he evacuated the Morea. A French army arrived in the Morea to find that its help was no longer required.]

1829. Diebitch, a Prussian commanding the Russian army, routed Reschid at Kulevtscha on June 10th, captured Silistia and, on August 19th, Adrianople, and threatened Constantinople. But his army was small and his position precarious. Nicholas I, who was afraid of rebellion at home, disappointed by the success of the Turks in taking Kars and Erzeroum, anxious to allay the suspicion of Great Britain and to avert a possible attack by Austria, agreed to the Peace of Adrianople.

C. The Treaty of Adrianople, 1829.

... September 14th, 1829. By the Treaty of Adrianople—

- a. Moldavia and Wallachia became practically independent; no Mahomedans were to reside in the Principalities.
- b. The treaty rights of Russia in the Bosphorus and Dardanelles were confirmed.
- c. The terms of the Protocol of March 1821¹ were incorporated in the Treaty of Adrianople.
- d. Russia obtained no territory in Europe but received Anapi and Fort Isak Miron.

Great Britain resented the diminution of the Turkish power by the recognition of the right of search in Turkish waters; she feared that Moldavia and Wallachia would become dependencies of Russia, and that Greece, of which Capodistria was now President, would look to Russia for help against her overlord the Sultan; also that the acquisition of Anapi and Fort Isak Miron would lead to the extension of Russian influence in the Euphrates Valley and so threaten India. The Peace of Adrianople "marked another halting place in the victorious advance of Russia in the East."

¹ See page 68.

VII. The Kingdom of Greece, 1832.

The success of Russia in the Russo-Turkish War made Austria and Great Britain fear that Greece might become a vassal of Russia. They therefore wished to limit her boundaries.

A. The Protocol of 1825.

November 16th, 1825. The Morea and Cyclades were placed under the guarantee of the Powers.

B. The Protocol of 1829.

During the winter of 1828-1829 Capodistrias took Missolonghi and General Church regained the territory immediately north of the Gulf of Corinth.

March 17th, 1829. The Greek territory was extended to Arta-Volo, and thus included Euboea and part of continental Greece. Greece was to be an autonomous kingdom under the suzerainty of the Sultan and ruled by a king chosen by the Powers.

Capodistrias refused to accept the Protocol, which he thought unduly limited Greek territory.

C. The Protocol of 1830.

(1) Austria, Russia and Great Britain.

The relations between Russia and Great Britain had become somewhat strained, particularly owing to the desire of Nicholas to blockade the Dardanelles during the Russo-Turkish War. Metternich now re-established relations with Great Britain and, seeing that it was impossible to re-establish the Sultan's power over Greece, suggested that Greece should be made an independent kingdom. Wellington favoured the plan, which would prevent Russia from securing predominant influence in Greece, but, although he saw that he could no longer insist on the maintenance of the integrity of Turkey, he tried to limit the extent of Greek acquisitions.

(2) The Protocol.

February 3rd, 1830. A new Protocol provided that Greece should become an independent kingdom with Leopold of Coburg as Sovereign Prince, but that the northern boundary of Greece was to extend from Thermopylae to the mouth of the river Achelous.

Capodistrias indignantly refused these terms, which would have deprived Greece of Northern Acarnania and part of Ætolia, and were less generous than those of the last Protocol which had been incorporated in the Treaty of Adrianople. Leopold accepted the Greek crown on February 17th, 1830, but resigned it in May because the terms of the recent Protocol would make his task impossible.

D. Establishment of the Kingdom of Greece.

(1) Murder of Capodistrias, 1831.

Capodistrias had roused opposition by the harshness of his rule and the belief that he was acting in the interests of Russia. Admiral Mianin blew up the Greek fleet to prevent Capodistrias from securing it; the Mainotes refused to pay taxes. Capodistrias was assassinated on October 9th, 1831, and his murder was followed by general anarchy.

The need of establishing strong government in Greece was obvious, and the Powers wished to be free from entanglements in the East in order that they might be free to deal with any questions that might arise owing to the French Revolution of 1830.¹ Palmerston, who had succeeded Wellington, was sympathetic to the Greek cause.

(2) The Protocol of 1831.

September 28th, 1831. A new Protocol made Antioch the Greek frontier and offered the crown of Greece to Otto of Bavaria, a youth of seventeen, whose father accepted the offer on condition that Otto should be King and not Sovereign Prince.

¹ Page 61.

January 28th, 1830. Otto, the first King of Greece, landed at Naxos to attempt with Bavarian officials and soldiers to make Greek robbers and shepherds into a civilized nation.

References :

Modern Europe (Alison Phillips), Livingston, chap. vii.
Cambridge Modern History, Vol. X, chap. vi.

GERMANY, 1815-1840

By the Treaty of Vienna "territorialism had beaten all its enemies, and Particularism had become geographical and monarchical." The internal history of Germany from 1815 to 1840 was largely concerned with the attempt to substitute Nationalism for Particularism and to change Absolute into Constitutional Monarchies.

I. Lack of Political Progress.

The cause of political reform made little progress in Germany from 1815 to 1840. Although some regarded the overthrow of Napoleon as a victory for political freedom in each state as well as for national independence, most Germans cared little for politics; the improvement of agriculture, the development of trade and, in the case of statesmen, the organisation of territory gained at the Congress of Vienna were their main objects.

A. Variety of problems.

Progress was hampered by the variety of problems: the final abolition of the last traces of feudalism, the relations between Church and State and between the executive and legislature, the absorption into old states of new territory often different in commercial interest, religion, language and customs.

B. Lack of common policy.

Sharp differences appeared among those who advocated political reform.

(1) The Union of Germany.

Those who desired to make Germany a united nation differed as to the means by which union could be effected. Stein favoured the establishment of an Empire of Germany with a Hapsburg Emperor; some would have made the King of Prussia head of Germany; some proposed to exclude both Prussia and Austria from the German Confederation because of the foreign elements they contained, and to limit membership to purely German states; a few advocated a democratic republic.

Mettetrich thought that a united Germany would be contrary to the interests of Austria and of the Concert of Europe. He declared that German unity was "an infamous object."

The smaller states were anxious to maintain their independent sovereignty and feared that this might be impaired by the establishment of a close union of all under the rulership of a King of Germany.

(2) The Government of the States.

Three views were held as to the most desirable form of government:

a. The Absolutists.

The Absolutists held that all authority rested with the prince; the country belonged to the prince, and the people are only tenants and not owners of their property. The Absolutists denied the doctrine of social contract and the sovereignty of the people, and were opposed to freedom of the press and university education. Metetrich was the chief advocate of Absolutism, which became the form of government in Austria and Prussia.

b. The Party of Historic Rights.

The party of Historic Rights, the weakest party, acknowledged the sovereignty of the princes as historical; favoured the re-establishment of the old assemblies of estates; objected to written constitutions.

c. The Constitutional Party.

The Constitutional party were strongly influenced by the French Revolution. They believed in the natural rights of man and the sovereignty of the people, of whom the government is only the representative. They demanded written constitutions. They included a large university element and were strongest in the South and West, where French influence had been most powerful.

II. The German Confederation.

A. The Diet.

June 18th, 1815. By the Federal Act the sovereign princes and free cities of Germany made among themselves "a permanent alliance to be known as the German Confederation," which was to ensure "the maintenance of external and internal security and the independence and integrity of the individual states." The Diet was the organ of the Confederation. The advocates of German unity hoped that the Diet would become the instrument for effecting German national union.

(1) Constitution.

The Diet consisted of an ordinary and a general assembly. In the ordinary assembly Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, Württemberg, Baden, the Electorate of Hesse, the Grand Duchy of Hesse, Holstein and Lauenburg had one vote each; one vote was allotted to each of the six groups into which the remaining twenty-eight states were divided.

In the plenum, or general assembly, sixty-nine votes could be cast, of which Austria, Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, Hanover, and Württemberg had four votes each.

In the ordinary assembly a bare majority could carry a resolution, in the general assembly a majority of two-thirds was required. But no change could be made in "fundamental laws, organic institutions, individual rights or matters of religion" except by a unanimous vote. The representative of Austria was to preside in both assemblies.

An attempt of the Prussian representative to share with Austria the control of Germany alarmed the smaller states, who were anxious to maintain their independence. The decision of the President, Count Buol, that the constitution as fixed by the Federal Act was unalterable although subject to interpretation "put an end at once to the fears of the German princes and to the hopes of the German people." The Diet became a congress of ambassadors of jealous sovereign princes rather than a congress of representatives; it represented only the particularist and centrifugal forces of Germany; the Confederation became a Confederation of States rather than a Federal State.

(2) The Opening of the Diet.

A dispute between Austria and Bavaria, which concerned the appropriation of Salzburg by Austria, delayed the opening of the Diet. The dispute was settled by the cession to Bavaria of the Austrian Palatinate in April, 1806.

November 8th, 1806. The Diet met under the presidency of Buol at Frankfurt.

(3) The Work of the Diet.

The Diet was to make arrangements for the foreign, domestic, military and congressional affairs of the

Confederation as a whole, but individual states decided their own policy.

The Diet required the arbitrary Rector of Rome to redress the grievances of his subjects. He denied the right of the Diet to interfere in his state and was strongly supported by Metternich; the Diet proved utterly unable to assert its authority.

The Liberals, who had hoped that the Diet would promote German unity and assist the establishment of constitutional rule in the different states, were disappointed to find that it was really under the influence of Metternich, who determined to use it to prevent the introduction of Jacobinism from without and to crush Liberalism in Germany.

(4) The Diet proved a failure.

The Diet was particularist and centrifugal; it failed to promote German unity. Proposals that states should submit any disputes to arbitration and that citizens of one state might become citizens of any other were rejected owing to the influence of Prussia. The plans for organizing a German army were not carried out; the forces supplied by different states were never united into a German army; in 1835 France had paid the cost of building federal fortresses: they were not built in 1835.

The Diet became little more than a court for deciding private claims against the old Empire and was most dilatory in its proceedings. A claim for salaries due in 1816 was not admitted until 1831; the last debts arising out of the Thirty Years' War were liquidated in 1850.

"The Diet became the laughing-stock of Germany and of all Europe."¹

B. Constitutional Government.

The original form of Article Thirteen of the Federal Act provided that every member "of the Federation

¹ *Reichsgesetz.*

shall establish a system of estates within one year." The final reading omitted the time limit and substituted "will" for "shall." Thus a definite command became a prophecy which guaranteed to the German people only "an unlimited right of expectation."

The Liberals, who cared more for constitutional liberty than national unity, now saw that the former could be obtained only through the action of individual states. Liberalism became particularist.

(II) The Universities and Intellectual class advocate Constitutional Government.

The majority of Germans cared little for political progress; there was in Germany no steady popular demand for constitutional reform. The impulse to reform came not from soldiers as in Spain, or merchants as in England, but from the intellectual class—professors, students and journalists. The students who had fought in the War of Liberation¹ hoped that after Napoleon was overthrown Germany would become a united nation inspired by Liberal principles. Their disappointment at the failure of the Diet to fulfil their hopes led them to form societies to promote reform.

a. Gynnasia Clubs.

The Gynnasia Clubs, owing to the influence of Turnerover² Jahn, adopted old German costume, replaced foreign words which were in common use by their German equivalents, aimed at cultivating national sentiment and preached German unity.

b. The Universities.

University professors loudly championed the cause of unity and constitutionalism; new students' societies, *Burschenschaften*, which were strongly nationalistic, replaced the old

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. III, page 818.

² *Le Gynnasia Father*.

Landesmannschaften, which had been provincial and particularist. The new movement spread even in Prussia, but was strongest at Jena, where the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar, "*der Oberberock*," strongly supported it.

October 18th, 1827. At Wartburg, where they were celebrating the second anniversary of the Reformation, some students from Jena threw into a bonfire Schmalz's pamphlet in favour of absolutism, Kotzebue's *German History* which had the same tendency, the Prussian police code and such symbols of military authority as a soldier's pigtail, a corporal's cane and an Uhlán's corset. A disturbance took place at Breslau; a tumult at Göttingen resulted in bloodshed.

The students' riot at Wartburg was grossly exaggerated by the Absolutists and its effects were out of all proportion to its real importance. Metternich warned Frederick William III that it was a revolutionary movement, and it was one of the reasons why the latter adopted an absolute policy in Prussia. Stourdza, a Roumanian, asserted that the Universities were centres of revolution and atheism, and his pamphlet was circulated among the sovereigns of Europe by the Czar, Alexander I, who hitherto had shown considerable sympathy with the Liberal cause. The Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar was compelled to limit the freedom of the press in his state.

(2) Territorial differences.

a. Prussia and Austria.

Austria, in which Metternich was supreme, was strongly absolutist. Frederick William III, who had displayed a tendency to Liberalism, became an absolute monarch.

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b. Northern Germany.

Most of the princes of Northern Germany adopted a system of assemblies of Estates, but the assemblies were not popular and excluded mainly of nobles who failed to secure any control over the administration.

(i) Hanover.

The King of Hanover, finding that the nobles would not "place in one hand the proceeds of the domain and the taxes,"¹ ignored the Estates and secured his object by royal decree.

(ii) Mecklenburg.

In Mecklenburg the Estates used their authority to strengthen the power of the nobles over the peasants.

(iii) Saxony.

The Estates of Saxony failed to secure from the Government any information about the finances.

c. Southern Germany.

Southern Germany was the most Liberal part of the country. Napoleon had swept away the old system of Estates; the doctrines of the Revolution were accepted by many. The princes, and especially the Kings of Bavaria and Württemberg, were jealous of their sovereign rights, and the attempt of Frederick William III to make the Diet in its early days the guardian of the constitutional rights of the people had led to strong opposition from the two Kings. But, when Frederick William became a supporter of Absolutism and united with Austria, the co-operation of Prussia and Austria seemed to threaten the independence

¹ *Seignior*.

of the lesser states, and the lesser sovereigns now tried to win the support of their own people in their struggle for independence by granting constitutional privileges.

(i) *Saxe-Weimar.*

May, 1816. The Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar established a constitution under the guarantee of the Confederation; nobles, knights, cities and peasants met in one assembly to pass laws, authorise taxation and present grievances. The press was made free.

(ii) *Wittenberg.*

May, 1816. King Frederick granted a constitution, but differences arose between the majority of the nobles and clergy in the Estates, who wanted only one Chamber, and King William, a strong Liberal, who succeeded to the throne in 1816. The factional opposition of the Estates continued, and the King dissolved them in 1817 and established absolute rule.

(iii) *Bavaria.*

King Maximilian Joseph (1799-1855) had established religious toleration and reformed education, but did not favour representative government. But a Concordat made with Pope Pius VII in 1817 caused much discontent, and the financial condition of the country was unsatisfactory. The desire to shift these difficult problems on to other shoulders and to win the support of Alexander I, who had not yet renounced his Liberalism, in a probable dispute with Baden led the King to grant a constitution on May 24th, 1818. Two Chambers were established and representation was given to the peasants and towns as well as the nobles, and

a considerable measure of self-government was given to local authorities.

(iv) Baden.

Baden was particularly exposed to attack from France and looked to the Confederation to defend it. But it was also in danger of an attack from Bavaria, who wished to secure that part of the Palatinate which had recently been allotted to Baden. To gain the support of German Liberals and to conciliate Alexander I a constitution was granted in August, 1818, and provision was made for the meeting of nobles, townspeople and peasants.

(v) The Carlsbad Decrees, 1819.

a. The Assassination of Kotzebue.

March 23rd, 1819. Sand, a student of Jena, assassinated the dramatist Kotzebue, who was Russian agent in Central Germany.

b. Nassen.

1819. A Nassen student tried to assassinate the head of the state.

c. Metternich's.

The Absolutists, quite incorrectly, held that these isolated crimes were part of a general revolutionary conspiracy which Metternich asserted had its centre in Prussia. He completely won over Frederick William III and, knowing that there was very little likelihood that Alexander would support Liberalism in Germany, he adopted a policy of repression.

d. The Carlsbad Decree, 1819.

The ministers of Austria and Prussia, the representatives of German kingdoms and of Baden, Mecklenburg and Nassau, drew up the Carlsbad Decree.

September 24th, 1818. The Diet accepted the Carlsbad Decrees. It thus adopted Metternich's policy and tried to check the activity of the Liberals, the press and the Universities, which Absolutists regarded as the chief enemies of monarchy. The Decrees, which were enacted for five years, authorised princes—

- (i) To suppress Burschenschaften and gymnastic societies, and to appoint censors to supervise university students and professors; to dismiss professors who advocated the limitation of the absolute power of rulers.
- (ii) To establish a censorship of all publications. Each prince was to be responsible to the Confederation for undesirable pamphlets issued in his state.
- (iii) To set up at Mainz a Federal committee, with power to arrest any German of any state, to inquire into "the origin and ramifications of revolutionary conspiracies and demagogic associations," and to report to the Diet.

The Carlsbad Decrees, which marked the high-water mark of Austrian influence in Germany, were a personal triumph for Metternich. They postponed constitutional liberty in Germany for a generation.

(4) The Final Act of Vienna, 1820.

The resistance of Bavaria and Wittenberg prevented Metternich from carrying out his desire to suppress the constitutions already established in Southern Germany. The Diet was not a constituent assembly and could not alter the Federal Act. Metternich therefore summoned representatives of the cabinets of Germany, who had the necessary power, to consider the question of revising the Act, and especially Article Thirteen.¹

¹ Page 146.

May 12th, 1820. The Conference drew up the "Final Act," which was ratified by the Diet on June 8th. It declared that—

- a. "The whole power of the state should remain vested in the head of the state," and the head was bound to co-operate with the Estates only "in the exercise of determined rights."
- b. That the Diet should intervene to restore public order in a state if the prince was incapable of maintaining order or asked for help against rebellious subjects.

Although Metternich failed to accomplish all he desired, he had turned the Confederation from a League of States into a League of Sovereigns. Henceforth liberty existed in Germany only in Bavaria, Württemberg and Baden. Bavaria and Württemberg strongly objected to the suppression of the constitutions of German States.

C. Failure of Liberal efforts, 1820-1828.

(1) Bavaria and Württemberg.

King William of Württemberg, who had led the opposition to Metternich at Vienna, resented the exclusion of the smaller German states from the Congresses of Ljubich¹ and Verona.² He tried to form a league of Baden, Bavaria and Württemberg against Austria and Prussia. Partly owing to this difference attempts to complete the Federal fortifications and to form a Federal army under one commander-in-chief proved unsuccessful.

1824. Metternich compelled King William to submit, and secured the establishment of the Charlesbad Decrees of permanent enactments, the renewal of the Commission of Ministers, the prohibition of publication of the proceedings of the Diet. His success was

¹ Page 17.

² Page 14.

marked by a further attack on Liberalism, during which Jahn was imprisoned, Schlegel's lectures were censored, and a new edition of Fichte was forbidden.

In 1834 Metternich reached the height of his power. The representatives of the Princes "look for me as for the Messiah."

[January, 1838. Bavaria and Württemberg made a Customs Treaty.]

(2) Movements following the French Revolution of 1830.

The German Liberals now aimed at constitutional liberty rather than national unity; they demanded legislative chambers exercising some control over finance, freedom of the press and trial by jury. They sympathized with the efforts of French Liberals and strongly condemned the absolutism of Prussia and Austria. The French Revolution of 1830 led to movements in Germany.

a. The North.

1830-1833. Abdication of the Duke of Brunswick and of the Elector of Hesse-Cassel followed by the grant of constitutions. The Saxon Estates were reorganized. A constitution was established in Hanover.

b. The South.

In Baden and Bavaria the princes obtained greater freedom.

c. The Bavarian Palatinates.

The French had occupied the Bavarian Palatinates for twenty years and sympathy with the French and Polish revolutionary parties was strong. This movement was revolutionary and relied upon the support of all classes, not, as in 1818, upon professors and journalists.

(3) Reaction.

a. The Diet, 1832.

The princes had made concessions partly through fear that the Polish insurrection¹ might spread into Germany. The fall of Warsaw in September, 1831, relieved their fears; Metternich used the demonstration at Hagelsbach, May 31st, 1832, as proof of a general revolutionary plot; Prussia, Austria and Russia united to resist the spread of Liberalism in Germany.

June 28th, 1832. The Diet asserted the right of any sovereign to annul any action of his Estates which would limit his authority; allowed the Confederation to intervene in any state in which the legislature refused to vote supplies; prohibited state legislation which might weaken the objects of the Confederation; forbade political meetings and associations; imposed restrictions on the press and the Universities.

-b. The Treaty of Berlin, 1833.

Following Conferences at Teplitz and Münchengrätz, Austria, Prussia and Russia recognised, by the Treaty of Berlin in 1833, "the right of every independent sovereign to summon to his assistance, whether in the internal or external difficulties of his country, any other independent sovereign," and denied the right of any other Power to intervene.

(4) The Riot at Frankfurt, 1833.

The action of the Diet led to further revolutionary plots on the part of the nationalists, who hoped, with Polish help, to seize Frankfurt, suppress the Diet and form a provisional government of Liberals.

¹ Page 133.

April 3rd, 1838. A riot at Frankfurt was suppressed by Prussian soldiers, and Metternich, who again used a local rising as proof of a national movement in favour of revolution, persuaded the Diet in June, 1838, to appoint a committee to supervise and report on the punishment of revolutionaries in individual states. About two thousand people were brought to trial; thirty-nine were condemned to death in Prussia but their sentences were commuted to imprisonment.

December, 1837. Seven professors of Göttingen were deprived of their posts for protesting against the action of Ernest, King of Hanover, who had annulled the Constitution of 1833 because it prevented him from using the state domains to pay his private debts.

II. General.

Although some of the new constitutions survived and Liberalism had gained some measure of success, particularly in the North, the cause of Absolutism still held its own. Metternich had succeeded in weakening the faction which was seeking to introduce, in the form of the representative system, the modern idea of popular sovereignty. From 1832 to 1847 Liberal agitation practically ceased in Germany.

References :

- Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. X, chap. XI.
- A Political History of Contemporary Europe* (Belgothor),
Heinemann, chap. XII.
- Germany* (A. W. Ward), Cambridge University Press, Vol. I,
chaps. 2-7.

PRUSSIA, 1815-1840

Prussia after the Congress of Vienna.

1. Expansion of Territory.

The Congress of Vienna added to Prussia a portion of Pomerania, Westphalia, part of Saxony, the Rhine

Provinces and Posen. Five and a half million people were added to Prussia's population of five million.

B. The old Prussian Monarchy.

The old Prussian monarchy, which "nature did not favour," had been formed by the Kings and was maintained by an excellent civil service and the Prussian army, both of which were the strengths of the monarchy. Largely owing to Stein's reforms and legal caste distinctions had been abolished, and civic patriotism had been developed owing to the grant of local self-government.

C. The problem of Assimilation.

Prussia had now to unite her scattered provinces and to consider the problem of extending to her new territories the privileges recently granted to the people of the old monarchy. She was faced with serious difficulties.

(1) Patriotism was local and not national.

No bond of common national feeling united the different provinces in which eight or nine different legal systems were administered. The Pomeranians and Silesians described themselves as separate nations. Four separate nationalities existed in the Rhine Provinces. Posen was Polish; the Saxons strongly resented their separation from the Kingdom of Saxony.

(2) Differences between East and West.

The new Prussia was divided by Hapsburg, and the East differed from the West in national feeling, established customs, social organisation and method of administration.

a. The East.

The East was agricultural and rural. The nobles enjoyed a large measure of local authority and the peasants were at their mercy.

See on European History, Vol. III, page 432.

C. The West.

The Rhine Province had been occupied by the French, who had abolished legal privileges, established self-governing communes and introduced the *Code Napoléon*. The middle class, not the nobles, were the chief element in the population, and the doctrines of the French Revolution found a considerable measure of support.

(3) Religion.

Rhine and Posen were Catholic and there was a large Catholic population in the Rhine Province and Westphalia. A strong Ultramontane feeling, which was very marked in the Rhine Province, tended to render national union more difficult.

Prussia was Protestant, but difficulties arose owing to differences between strict Lutherans and the Reformed Churches which objected to the royal supremacy.

D. Austria.

Austria strongly resented the additions to the territory of Prussia, and feared that Prussia, which had become "the bulwark of Germany against France," would secure the predominant position in Germany.

In 1815 Prussia was regarded as the champion of Liberalism in Germany, and Frederick William III., Hardenberg the Chancellor, Metelar and Humboldt were known to favour the Liberals. Austria, led by Metetrich, was a strong supporter of Absolutism.

II. The Problem of the Constitution.

A. The promise of Frederick William III.

Many of the soldiers, and particularly the *Landwehr*, hoped that they had secured constitutional development as well as national liberty by defeating Napoleon.

Of the Liberal leaders some desired a liberal constitutional system, others, and notably Stein, desired a system founded on historic rights.

May 22nd, 1818. Frederick William III promised to reorganize existing Provincial Estates, to establish new Estates where necessary, and to choose from the Estates a Representative Assembly which was to have the right of discussing legislation.

B. Opposition to the proposed Constitution.

The divisions that existed in the "patchwork kingdom" made the task of forming a constitution very difficult. A Commission was appointed to investigate existing conditions, and during the period of investigation, which did not start operations until 1817, opposition grew stronger.

(1) The Nobles.

The abolition of *seignior* had led to the formation of a feudal, aristocratic party which had strongly opposed Stein and, during Stein's tenure of office, had opposed the King. The rising tide of liberalism alarmed Frederick William III and led to the union of the Crown and the nobles, who, owing to the growing weakness of Hardenberg, secured control of the government. They supported the cause of *Abolition* and class privileges and resolved to limit as far as possible the operation of the Thirteenth Article¹ of the Federal Act.

The Provincial Estates consisted mainly of nobles, who were resolved to maintain their old privileges and whose interests were local and not national. They objected to the establishment of a Representative Assembly superior in position to the Estates. Their attitude meant the support of Particularism in Prussia.

Prince Wüngenstein, the leader of the party, was in close touch with Metternich.

¹ Page 122.

(3) The King.

Frederick William's sympathy with Liberalism soon weakened.

1815. He decorated Schmidt, a Prussian lawyer, who, in a pamphlet issued in July, 1815, had violently denounced the *Tugendbund*¹ and accused the Liberals of desiring to secure the unity of Germany by murder and robbery.

January, 1819. The *Rheinish Mercury*, an important Liberal journal, was suppressed.

October, 1817. Owing to the Wartburg Festival,² Frederick William III suppressed university associations and threatened to close the Universities unless they stopped their revolutionary plans.

Mettetrich gradually secured great influence over the King and, in 1818, warned him of the danger of creating a National Parliament which would involve the disintegration of the Prussian monarchy; urged him to control the Universities, Gynastic Clubs and the Press; advised him to "go no further than the formation of Provincial Diets."

Frederick William was frightened by Steinle's pamphlet,³ and the murder of Kotzebue on March 23rd, 1819 finally ruined the cause of representative government in Prussia and made Frederick William an Absolutist.

(3) The People.

Except among the intellectual class there was no general demand for constitutional reform. Many who favoured the idea of Provincial Diets opposed that of a National Assembly. "Their consciousness was only local and not national."

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. III, page 481.

² Page 187. ³ Page 187.

C. The Provincial Diets, 1808.

The popular risings in Spain and Greece confirmed Frederick William in his opposition to representative government.

June, 1808. He established Provincial Diets but announced that the creation of representative government was to be postponed indefinitely. Largely owing to the affection the people felt for the old King the question was not again raised during his lifetime.

III. Internal Administration.

"It was in administration that Prussia found her true vocation after Waterloo; and this task was at least as essential as parliamentary government to German unity."¹

A. Organisation.

(1) Central.

A Council of State, consisting of royal princes, ministers, presidents of provinces and generals, was established in 1817 to control departments and advise the King. But it rarely met after 1827, and the reform of the administration was mainly due to the King's ministers.

(2) Local.

Prussia was divided for administration into eight provinces; these were divided into twenty-five sub-divisions under which were three hundred circles. This local government was aristocratic.

B. The Peasants.

1808. By a new decree those peasants of Eastern Prussia who had gained the right of redeeming their holdings became peasant proprietors. Over the great majority the seigniorial rights of the land were maintained and the peasants became simply day labourers

dependent on the landlords, who enlarged their property by annexing many peasant holdings.

But in the West many peasants became landholders and rural society became more democratic.

C. Finance.

In 1815, largely owing to the recent war, the Prussian national debt amounted to 237,000,000 thalers and the annual deficit to about two millions.

A sinking fund was established, the expenses of the King and Government were rigidly curtailed, a poll-tax was imposed in country districts and a tax on consumption was levied in towns. The customs duties were rearranged.²

D. The Army.

(1) The Active Army.

The Active Army numbered only 115,000 men. Service for three years was made universal and compulsory, but two years were remitted in the case of "One Year Volunteers" of sufficient educational qualifications.

(2) The Reserve.

Men who had completed service in the Active Army passed into the Reserve, where they remained until they were twenty-five.

(3) The Landwehr.

The Landwehr was reorganised and passed its period of service with the Active Army.

The new system was economical and effective.

E. Education.

The system of education was greatly improved by Hegelsdorf, although he showed a tendency to use the Universities and Schools as a means of maintaining Abolitionist tiggery.

² See page 123.

(1) Universities.

The Saxon University of Wittenberg was incorporated with the Prussian University of Halle.

A new secular University was established at Bonn.

(2) The Polytechnic.

1824. Opening of the Polytechnic at Berlin.

(3) Schools.

School method was revolutionized by the adoption of the principles of Pestalozzi.

Many new *gymnasiums* were founded and *volkshulen* were started.

Primary education was made universal and compulsory; instruction in religion was compulsory but in accordance with the belief of the parent; the school area had to meet the expenses of its own school.

F. General.

Although reorganization and administration were so slow that regulations for the freedom of serfs were not completed until 1850 and the Ciocks were not organized until 1878, the Prussian Civil Service proved generally efficient although unduly bureaucratic.

The government was absolute but not oppressive, except towards the intellectuals, who were regarded as revolutionaries. There was practically no religious persecution, justice was free from corruption, taxation was well applied and not unduly heavy. The country prospered greatly under the new system, and the development of popular education gave Prussia a great advantage over the rest of Germany.

The interests of the State were often the first concern of ministers; the army became a school in which Prussian national spirit was fostered, students imbibed the Prussian traditions at Bonn and Halle, and the schools were used for the same end. The general people was good; the monarchy, though Absolutist, became an institution for the education of great public men; and

the material prosperity which absolutist administration brought to Prussia prevented the revolutionary tendencies of 1830 from seriously affecting the country.

IV. The Zollverein.

A. The position in 1815.

(1) The Diet and Commerce.

By the Nineteenth Article of the Federal Act the duty of arranging the commercial relations of the German States had been imposed on the Diet. But a national tariff was impossible because of the commercial relations between Hanover and England, Schleswig and Denmark, Luxembourg and Holland; because of the importance of indirect taxation as a means of revenue in each state; because Austria insisted on maintaining her old system of provincial dues and customs.

(2) Prussia.

Prussia suffered from financial embarrassment and economic depression. Each district had its own customs; sixty-seven tariff areas existed in Prussia; and hampered the establishment of Prussian unity; internal tariff restrictions prevented Prussia from meeting the competition of Great Britain, which poured British goods into the country; the frontiers were so long that no system of custom-houses could prevent smuggling.

Tariff reform was essential; the Diet could do nothing; Prussia, in self-defence, was obliged to take her own measures.

B. The Law of 1818.

Münchling abolished all internal customs in Prussia, and thus bound the different parts of the monarchy by a common commercial policy; he lowered the duties on imported manufactured goods to ten per cent. and so discouraged smuggling; in order to compel neighbouring

states to come to terms with Prussia he imposed heavy transport duties on foreign goods passing through the country.

Prussia became a Free Trade area and was one of the first countries to adopt the principles of Adam Smith. Maaßen greatly stimulated internal trade, increased the revenue of Prussia and did something to check the commercial superiority of Great Britain.

C. The Extension of the Zollverein.

October 23rd, 1819. Tariff treaty between Prussia and Schwarzburg-Sonderhausen. The smaller state accepted the Prussian tariff schedule, allowed Prussian officers to collect the dues and received a share of the revenue proportionate to its population.

1828. By 1828 a number of the smaller states of the North had concluded commercial treaties with Prussia, including Anhalt-Köthen, Saxe-Weimar and Mecklenburg-Schwerin.

The policy of Prussia was facilitated by the refusal of Austria to form a dual Customs Union by lowering her prohibitive tariffs.

D. Opposition.

(1) The Southern States.

January, 1828. Bavaria and Württemberg formed, with some of their smaller neighbours, a Customs Union in the South.

(2) The Middle States.

September, 1828. Saxony formed a Customs Union of the Middle States (Hesse-Cassel, Hesse-Rheinfels, Braunschweig) and the towns of Hamburg, Bremen and Frankfurt. The object was "to build a financial barrier across the communications of the Prussian Zollverein," by the treaty made between Prussia and Hesse-Darmstadt; in February, 1833, weakened the position of the Mid-German States.

G. The Zollverein becomes German.

Prussia had wisely given favourable terms to Hesse-Darmstadt and generous concessions won over her opponents.

August, 1831. Hesse-Cassel joined the Zollverein.
The break-up of the Central Union.

January 1st, 1834. Bavaria joined the Zollverein for eight years on condition that its meetings were not to be confined to Berlin and that Bavarian goods received special treatment. The break-up of the Southern Union.

May, 1834. Saxony joined the Zollverein.

By 1836 the greater part of Germany had joined the Prussian Zollverein, and when the treaty expired they were renewed until 1858. Only Hagen, Oldenburg, Mecklenburg and the Hanse Towns remained outside.

F. General.

(1) The Zollverein regarded as a Particularist Movement.

The other states regarded the Law of 1833 as a Particularist move on the part of Prussia, and did their best at the Vienna-Conference of 1833 to compel Prussia to change her policy.

Austria had refused to form a rival Customs Union by lowering her prohibitive tariffs and had tried to prevent other states from joining the Zollverein.

The Zollverein did not involve political union and other states were admitted on an equality with Prussia.

(2) Its ultimate results.

The Zollverein represented a great victory for Prussia over Austria. Prussia had succeeded where the Diet had failed and had formed a Commercial Union, not of the whole of Germany, but of most of the chief German States, and of that union Prussia was the leading member.

A sharp difference of interests arose between Austria and the rest of Germany; consistency of interest was established between Prussia and the other members of the Zollverein. The grimes of political union were present in the growing community of material interests, and the Zollverein ultimately proved the foundation of the imperial power of Prussia.

V. Religious Difficulties.

A. Protestant.

Frederick William III tried to unite the Calvinists and Lutheran Churches. The majority of both churches accepted his proposals in 1817, but the extreme Calvinists refused to acknowledge the royal supremacy, while extreme Lutherans insisted on the doctrine of *Consubstantiation*¹ as essential. The extreme Lutherans protested against the Rationalism of the Tübingen School of Theology and in 1841 founded a separate Church.

B. Roman Catholics.

The difficulties of Prussia in dealing with her Catholic subjects were increased by the growing tendency to Ultramontaniam.

The marriage of Protestant officials with Catholics in the Rhine Province and Westphalia caused serious difficulty because, by Prussian law, the father was bound to control the education of his children, while the Roman Catholic Church allowed mixed-marriages only on condition that the children should become Roman Catholics.

On the extension of the Prussian law to the Rhine Province in 1836 the bishops appealed to Pope Pius VIII who, in 1839, decided that a priest might give his "passive assistance" but not his blessing to a mixed marriage.

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. II, page 268.

But Pope Gregory XVI (1831-1846) and Drömer-Tschering, appointed Archbishop of Cologne in 1838, rejected the compromise of Pius VIII and insisted that all children of mixed marriages should be educated as Roman Catholics.

November, 1837. Arrest and expulsion from his diocese of the Archbishop of Cologne and, later, of the Archbishop of Posen, who led the strong opposition offered by the Bishops of the Eastern provinces to the policy of the Prussian Government.

The action of Prussia aroused serious discontent in the Rhine Provinces.

References :

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. X, chap. xi.

A Political History of Contemporary Europe (Seignobos),
Heinemann, chap. xiv.

AUSTRIA, 1815-1840

The Austrian Empire in 1815.

A. National Divisions.

Austria was not a nation but "a conglomeration of peoples" united only by subjection to a common sovereign. Excluding her newly acquired territory in Italy, the Austrian Empire was divided into—

- (1) The hereditary dominions of the Archduchy of Austria.
- (2) The countries of the Crown of Bohemia :—Bohemia, Moravia and Austrian Silesia.
- (3) Galicia.
- (4) The countries of the Crown of St. Stephen :—Hungary, Transylvania, Croatia and Serbia.

Most of these territories were ruled directly from Vienna, but Hungary acknowledged the authority of the Emperor only as King of Hungary and retained its own government. The despotism, which Maria Theresa had recognized, still continued.

B. Sub-divisions.

But these divisions were themselves divided owing to national differences—

- (1) The hereditary Janslens, though mainly German, had a strong Slav element in the South.
- (2) There were many Germans in the counties of the Group of Bohemia of which the great majority of the people was Slav.
- (3) The population of Western Galicia was Polish and Catholic. The Ruthenians of Eastern Galicia belonged to the Greek Church.
- (4) Hungary was Magyar, Transylvania Roumanian, Croatia Slav. But there were many Germans in Hungary and the North-West was mainly Slav. Transylvania contained a considerable number of Germans and Magyars; there was a large population of Italians in the seaports of the Adriatic.

The Germans were the most influential, the Slavs the most numerous part of the population.

II. The Government and Social Conditions of Austria.

A. General.

The person of the Emperor was the bond which united his disjointed Empire—"Austria was a monarchical machine and nothing more." It had been formed largely by political marriages, the development of nationality among its constituent parts would lead to the break-up of the Empire. "My realm," said Francis, "is like a water-tower house; if one part is removed, the structure will fall."

The government of Austria was therefore essentially conservative; its great aim was to maintain Absolutism; to Metternich and Francis Liberalism, which involved the development of constitutional government, was an instrument of disruption. Their policy was absolute, anti-national and anti-Liberal.

B. The "Metternich System."

Ultimate responsibility rested with the Emperor; the Council of State, reorganised in 1814 as a board of union between different departments became merely a consultative body. Each department was independent of every other. Progress was impossible under the "Metternich system" of systematic ineptitude. There was always a financial deficit; industry and commerce languished. The press was subject to rigid censorship and political works of a liberal tendency were excluded from the country. Associations were prohibited and ubiquitous police spies rendered the expression of any but Absolutist views highly dangerous.

C. The Church.

The Emperor was supreme over the Church. Catholics were compelled to attend mass and confession; the clergy inspected all schools. Toleration was given to non-Catholics, but they could not hold public office and had to pay dues on buying land, securing citizenship or joining a guild.

D. The Nobles.

The nobles remained a privileged class; they were exempt from military service and alone could hold the chief offices of state. They had the right of police authority and justice over their own peasants. They formed the great majority of Provincial Estates, but these exercised no influence over the Government.

III. Hungary.

A. The Nobles.

The nobles of Hungary were a highly privileged class and practically monopolized all political rights.

(1) The Diet.

The Diet consisted of two parts: the *Table of Magnates* consisting of the great nobles, the elected *Table of Estates* consisting of two nobles elected from each *Comitatus* and two members representing all the cities. The Magnates were influenced to some extent by European culture and were more submissive to the Austrian Court than the members of the Estates.

The unsuccessful attempt of Joseph II to suppress the Diet in 1784¹ had aroused national spirit for a time but led to no sustained effort to weaken the influence of Austria. The working of the Diet was disorderly: elected members voted according to the instructions of the *Comitatus*; the Diet had little administrative power; although the constitution required that the Diet should meet every three years it was not summoned from 1812 to 1825.

(2) The Comitatus.

The local nobles, who numbered about two thousand, were poor, ignorant and tenacious of their privileges. All were members of the County *Sejmiks* or *Comitatus*. The *Comitatus* had the right of free political expression, elected local officials, directed local administration and, in spite of their turbulence, were the custodians of Magyar freedom. The suppression of the Diet made the *Comitatus* the champions of "nationalism against Austrian government; each *Comitatus*" became a little parliament and a centre of resistance to the usurpation of the Crown."

¹ *Guide to European History*, Vol. III, page 272.

B. Political Problems.

(1) Hungarian Nationalism.

a. The Old Constitution.

1825. The Emperor Francis, in response to the pressure of the Diet, formally recognized the old constitution of Hungary which required that the King should be crowned in Hungary and that the Diet should meet regularly. Thus the principle of *double monarchy* was again established.

b. The Magyar Language.

Hungary included a number of Slav races speaking their own language. Their representatives could not speak Magyar, and Latin had therefore been adopted as the common language of the Diet.

But growing national feeling led to a demand for the "Magyarization" of all alien elements and particularly for the substitution of Magyar for Latin as the official language.

This policy led to an attempt made in Bohemia to unite all the Slavs into one people and to make the Czech language a bond of union. The attempt failed at the time, but it may be regarded as the origin of *Panslavism*.

The Croats, the chief Slav people in the South, had their own Diet, which met at Agram, and their own governor. They wished to make the Southern Slavs independent of Hungary and founded the Illyrian National Society in 1830, to maintain the Croat language and laws. They strongly resented the attempt to make Magyar the language of the Diet, and in opposition to the *double monarchy* of Hungary advanced the theory of the Triple Kingdom.

1839. Magyar was recognized as the official language.

c. Transylvania.

The Transylvanian Diet met in 1834 for the first time since 1811. The turbulent Magyar element, provoked by the long suppression of the Diet and led by Count Wesselenyi persuaded the Diet to vote for the union of Transylvania with Hungary. Their violent opposition to the Austrian regime led the Emperor to dissolve the Transylvanian Diet. Wesselenyi was exiled for attacking the Austrian Court in the Hungarian Constitution. The Constitution resented this action as a breach of their privileges, and it aggravated the growing feeling between Austria and Hungary.

(2) Liberalism.

a. Objects.

After the restoration of the Hungarian Constitution had been accomplished the Liberals were desirous to undertake the work of constitutional reform. They aimed at abolishing the corvée and the exemption of nobles from taxation; giving to professional and business men the right of voting for members of the Diet and leaving members free to vote according to their conviction; introducing trial by jury; securing liberty of the press; reforming municipalities.

The Liberals were inspired by the Liberals of Western Europe. They had supported the cause of Magyar nationality even when it involved the suppression of Croatian nationality. They included a moderate section led by Dank and the extremists led by Kossuth.

b. Opposition of the Nobles.

The Conservative nobles were satisfied with the restoration of the old constitution under the suzerainty of Austria; they wished to retain all the old customs and institutions of Hungary and had no sympathy with the popular movements in other countries; they strongly opposed both in the Diet and the *Curia* any reforms which would weaken their privileges. Kossuth, who had been imprisoned for his strenuous opposition to the Government, founded, in 1841, a journal of reform, the *Posta Hírlap*, and thus appealed to the general body of the people against the County Assemblies. Under his leadership the extreme Liberals became revolutionaries.

c. The work of the Diet.

1813-1828. The Reform Diet established a precedent by requiring nobles, who hitherto had been exempt from all taxes, to pay a toll over the new suspension bridge at Perth; it improved the position of the peasants. But the Magnates, as also in the Diets of 1833 and 1842-1844, thwarted measures of reform and the *Curia* ordered their deputies to defend all their old privileges.

References :

- A Political History of Contemporary Europe* (Oligant),
Heinemann, chap. XIII.
Cambridge Modern History, Vol. X, pages 353-357.

BELGIUM, 1814-1839

I. The Foundation of the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

A. The Congress of Vienna.

British policy favoured the foundation in the Netherlands of a state strong enough to resist French aggression and, largely owing to Castlereagh's influence, the Treaty of Paris provided, on May 30th, 1814, that the House of Orange should become rulers of Holland "which shall receive an increase of territory."

May 31st, 1815. The union of Holland and Belgium into the Kingdom of the Netherlands under the rule of the Prince of Orange was confirmed by the Congress of Vienna.¹

B. King William I of Orange.

William Frederick of Nassau was an able administrator whose simplicity, ability and keen interest in agriculture won the enthusiastic support of the Dutch. His selection of the title William I instead of William V emphasized the end of the republican Stadtholderate and the beginning of royal authority. His obstinacy in enforcing his royal authority contributed to the Revolution of 1830.

November, 1815. Repulsion of the French from Holland, which Napoleon had united to France in 1810,² and the independence of the country was proclaimed at The Hague.

November 31st, 1815. William I, proclaimed Sovereign Prince of the Netherlands at The Hague.

C. The Fundamental Law.

William at once fulfilled his promise to establish a free constitution and appointed a Commission to draw up a Fundamental Law.

¹ *Sketches on European History*, Vol. III, page 302.

² *Ibid.*, page 295.

See also p. 135.

March 28th, 1814. The Fundamental Law was approved by the Dutch notables at Amsterdam. It provided—

(1) The King.

That the King should exercise executive power through his ministers and make peace and war and control the army and navy, share legislative power with the States-General of which he appointed the upper of two Chambers, nominate governors of provinces and burgomasters of towns.

(2) The States-General.

That the States-General should consist of two Chambers, the Lower of which was elected by provincial councils; it had no control over ministers, it could initiate or veto, but not amend, legislation.

(3) The Legal System.

The legal system established by the French was generally maintained and the judges were independent of the Crown. But trial by jury was suppressed.

(4) Religious toleration.

All religious bodies enjoyed equal rights.

(5) General liberty.

Nominally freedom of the individual and of the press was guaranteed, but only at the pleasure of the government.

The Fundamental Law established autocratic government and William I was determined to maintain the authority it gave to the Crown.

D. The Eight Articles.

June 20th, 1814. The Conference of London drew up the Eight Articles defining the relations between Holland and Belgium, and William I accepted them on July 23rd, 1814.

The Eight Articles provided that Belgium and Holland should form one state under the Fundamental Law; the Fundamental Law should be modified if necessary, provided that full religious equality should be maintained; Belgium to be properly represented in the States-General, which should sit alternately in a Belgian and Dutch town.

Belgians should have an equal share with the Dutch in the commerce and colonies of Holland; the treasury of the Netherlands was to assume responsibility for the debts of Holland and Belgium and for the maintenance of the frontier fortresses.

March 16th, 1815. William assumed the title of King of the Netherlands and Duke of Luxembourg.

August 8th, 1815. The Dutch States-General approved of the new constitution.

August 19th, 1815. The Belgian notables met at Brussels and rejected the Fundamental Law. William I collected in affirmative the votes of 182 absent members and 136 negative votes which he declared contravened the terms of the Conference of London, and declared that the Fundamental Law had secured a majority.

II. Belgian Discontent.

Two-thirds of the people of Belgium were Flemish and of similar origin to the Dutch, while the Flemish language closely resembled the Dutch. The union of Belgium, which was industrial and agricultural, with Holland, which was commercial, led to great prosperity. But the Orange party was formed in Antwerp and Ghent which profited greatly from the opening of the Scheldt to Belgian trade. But serious differences soon arose.

A. Differences between North and South.

(i) History.

The Dutch had succeeded in maintaining their independence until the time of Napoleon; Belgium had been subject to Spaniards, French and Austrians.

(2) Language.

The Walloons were different in race and language from the Dutch and, owing to the long French occupation, French had become the language even of the Flemings; still was the language of the Flemish bar.

William I tried to make Dutch the official language of the Netherlands.

1819. A knowledge of Dutch was required from every public official.

1822. Dutch was made the official language.

(3) Religion.

Belgium was strongly Catholic, Holland Calvinist, and the British Catholic clergy strongly opposed the House of Orange, which they regarded as the champion of heresy.

c. Opposition to toleration.

August, 1815. Maurice de Broglie, Arch-bishop of Ghent, published the Dominical Judgment, which declared that "liberty of religious opinion, equality of civil and political rights and the right of publicly exercising every form of worship" were "opposed to the spirit and maxims of the Catholic religion." The Archbishop was brought to trial and fled to France, but the clergy refused absolution to those Belgians who had sworn allegiance to the new constitution.

d. Limitations imposed on Catholic students.

William I aroused great indignation by requiring candidates for the priesthood to spend ten years at the Philosophical College he established, in 1825, at Louvain and refusing to allow them to study abroad.

B. The Dutch monopolised the Government.

(1) The Hague.

Contrary to the Eight Articles The Hague became the seat of government.

(2) Officials.

The Dutch monopolised public offices. In 1830 the Dutch supplied $\frac{4}{5}$ out of seven ministers, 108 out of 137 officials of the Interior, 1678 out of 1907 military officials including 35 out of 43 staff officers.

(3) The States-General.

Holland and Belgium were equally represented in the States-General although the population of the former was two million, of the latter three and a half. The votes of Belgian officials and of the Orangists of Antwerp and Ghent ensured a Dutch majority.

(4) Court of Appeal.

June 21st, 1830. Although Belgian appeals were five times as numerous as Dutch the Court of Appeal was established at The Hague.

(5) Public Institutions.

The Dutch secured control of the banks; the nine directors of military establishments were Dutch.

C. Finance.

(1) The Dutch Debt.

The Belgian debt was thirty-two million florins and the Dutch two thousand million. The hopes of the Belgians that they would derive great profits from the Dutch colonies were frustrated by the revolt in Java in 1825, which ruined the East Indian trade.

(2) Unpopular Taxation.

To meet heavy and growing deficits the Government, in 1821, imposed taxes on ground and poll and dead weight. Neither produced an adequate income, both were unpopular; the former pressed heavily on poor Belgians.

who lived mainly on bread, but lightly on the Dutch who ate more potatoes.

The vote of July 31st, 1821 which sanctioned these taxes " led to a permanent deepening of the cleavage between North and South."

D. The Press.

Although the Fundamental Law had guaranteed the freedom of the press the King, by royal decree, established an extraordinary court which severely punished all who printed matter which seemed likely to injure the Government.

III. The Revolution of 1830.

A. Events immediately preceding the Revolution.

(1) The Liberal-Catholic Union.

Liberals disapproved of the restrictions of the press and the autocratic power of the King; Catholics resented the ecclesiastical policy of William I; both objected to the ascendancy of the Dutch, and this common ground led them in 1828 to form the Liberal-Catholic Union to oppose the Dutch Government.

"For the sake of an alliance against a constitution distasteful to both, the clergy of Belgium accepted the democratic principles of the political opposition, and the opposition consented for a while to desist from their attack on the Papacy."¹

(2) Growing discontent.

With the strong support of the Union national petitions were presented to the King which protested against the taxes on bread and meat, and demanded the liberties guaranteed by the constitution and a separate administration for Belgium.

(3) The attitude of the King.

William I caused great indignation by speaking of

¹ *Ibid.*

"pretended grievances" and calling the conduct of the politicians "indignes." He made some concessions with respect to language and taxes but strongly asserted his right to absolute power.

(4) The Budget rejected.

December, 1838. The States-General, by a majority of three, threw out the decennial budget of ways and means. Six official deputies who had voted with the majority lost their posts; seventeen newspapers advocated a national subscription to compensate the deputies, and the leading journalists were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Great unpopularity of van Marum, the Minister of Justice.

(5) The July Revolution,¹ 1830.

The July Revolution in Paris suggested to the Belgians that they too might secure their objects by revolution.

B. The Revolution.

August 25th, 1830. Sudden rising of the people of Brussels, roused by the appeals to liberty in the opera of *La Nette*. The house of van Marum was sacked. The Dutchman flag was hoisted and the revolt spread over Brabant.

September 1st-2nd. Unsuccessful attempt of Prince Frederick of Orange to ally the discontents in Brussels.

William I promised to call the States-General to consider the question of separating the administration of Belgium from that of Holland.

September 20th, 1830. The people of Brussels seized the Hotel de Ville; their moderate leaders were displaced by extreme Liberals.

September 22nd-26th, 1830. Failure of Prince Frederick to reduce Brussels with a Dutch army.

September 26th, 1830. The States-General approved by a small majority the separation of the ad-

ministration, but the concession came too late. All Belgians rose, and the Dutch retained their hold only on Maastricht and Antwerp.

October 4th, 1830. The Provisional Government at Brussels proclaimed the independence of Belgium and undertook to summon a National Congress to draw up a constitution.

c. The National Congress.

(1) The Constitution.

a. The Monarchy.

The government was to be a hereditary monarchy, based on the sovereignty of the people from whom "all powers emanate," and exercising executive powers through ministers responsible to the Legislature. The House of Orange was excluded from the monarchy.

b. The Legislature.

The Legislature consisted of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies; both were elected by the same voters but a property qualification was required for senators. The Legislature had to approve of every tax, levy of troops or statute.

c. Liberty.

The constitution assured to all Belgians freedom of worship, association, education and language. The press was to be free.

d. Local Government.

Councils elected by ratepayers were to be appointed to carry out local government in communes and provinces.

e. The Church.

Laymen were to have no authority over clergy. Bishops were to be appointed by

the Pope and themselves to appoint parish priests. The Church was to receive a subsidy from the Government and to superintend religious teaching in schools.

f. Judges.

The judges were to be independent.

The separation of Church and State and the larger powers given to local authorities were important features of the constitution.

(g) The King.

The two chief candidates for the throne were the Duke of Leuchtenberg, son of Eugène Bonaparte, and the Duc de Nemours, son of Louis Philippe, who rejected the candidature of Leuchtenberg, a Bonapartist.

February 2nd, 1831. Election of Nemours. But Louis Philippe, finding that the Chamber of the Allies would not accept an Orleanist as King of Belgium, refused to allow him to receive the crown.

June 4th, 1831. Election of Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, who became King Leopold I. His wide experience, wisdom and discretion contributed largely to the successful establishment of the new kingdom.

IV. The Final Settlement.

A. Belgium and the France.

The Belgian Revolution reversed the decision of the Congress of Vienna which had sanctioned the union of Holland and Belgium as a check on French aggression and decided that Luxemburg should remain a member of the German Confederation and the property of the House of Orange. The Belgians now asserted their independence and claimed Leopoldburg, of which William I held only the towns of Ligny and Luxemburg.

There was grave danger that the Belgian Revolution might lead to a European War.

(1) Russia.

Nicholas I wished to restore Belgium to William I, proposed armed intervention and promised to supply an army of 60,000 men to reduce Belgium.

(2) Prussia.

Prussia feared that the example of Belgium might lead to a revolution in her Rhine Provinces and massed troops on the border.

(3) Austria.

Austria strongly disapproved of the action of Belgium and feared that Italy and Hungary might follow her example.

(4) France.

The Liberals desired to unite Belgium with France; the Belgians had profited by the example of the July Revolution and had had the strong sympathy of the French Revolutionists. But Louis Philippe knew that the union of Belgium with France would lead to war, and therefore refused to accept the crown for himself or to sanction the establishment of a republic in Belgium.

He knew also that if the Belgian Revolution was suppressed by the armed intervention of Russia, Prussia or Austria the French would insist on helping the Belgians. He therefore warned Prussia that France would not tolerate aggression, and determined "to hold the balance even" until a European Congress settled the Belgian question "in accordance with the treaty."

(5) Great Britain.

Great Britain was not unfriendly towards Belgium. She was determined to prevent France from securing the mouth of the Scheldt and would strenuously oppose the extension of French influence in the Netherlands. The separation of Belgium from Holland favoured the interests of British merchants and manufacturers.

Wellington, although a supporter of the Grand Alliance, said that Belgium could not be reconciled to Holland and would not accept the sovereignty of the House of Orange. He realised that war would follow if France attempted to extend her influence in Belgium or to protect the Belgians against the Eastern Powers.

Palmerston, who became Foreign Minister in 1830, favoured the establishment of an independent, national Kingdom of Belgium, provided that France should not profit by the Belgian Revolution and was not anxious to maintain the Treaty of 1815.

B. The Conference of London, 1830

November 4th, 1830. A Conference of the European great powers in London to consider the Belgian question. By the end of November the Polish Revolution provoked Russia or Austria from intervening in Belgium. Prussia, though anxious to support William I, who was related to King Frederick William III, found Great Britain and France so strongly opposed to armed intervention that she took no action.

Talleyrand persuaded the Conference to abandon the principles of the Grand Alliance and to accept the principle of non-intervention, and asserted that France would seek no additions of territory and would act in Belgium only in conjunction with the other Powers.

3) The Protocols of January, 1831.

The Conference imposed an armistice on the belligerents and in January, 1831, adopted two Protocols, which provided—

- a. That Belgium was to be an independent state and that the Powers should guarantee its sovereignty. That the boundary of Holland should be as it was in 1794.
- b. That the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg should belong to King William I.

- c. That Belgium should bear about half the debt of the Netherlands although the greater part had been incurred by Holland.

(2) Belgian opposition.

William I accepted these terms; the Belgians rejected them, partly because they wished to secure Luxembourg, partly because they thought they had to bear an unfair share of the debt.

The Brussels Congress refused to "abdicate in favour of foreign cabinets the government confided to it by the Belgian nation." Although the Conference had decided that as royal princes of the leading Powers should ascend the throne of Belgium, the Congress offered the crown to Napoleon.

C. The Eighteen Articles, June, 1831.

Largely owing to the efforts of King Leopold, the Conference of London modified its recent Provisions by the Eighteen Articles, issued on June 24th. These provided that the question of Luxembourg should be further considered and that Belgium should bear only that portion of the national debt which she had actually incurred.

D. The Dutch invade Belgium.

(1) The Belgians defeated.

William I accepted the loss of any part of Luxembourg. He saw that he would get no help from the Powers, and the Dutch, led by the Prince of Orange, invaded Belgium on August 1st, 1831. He routed the Belgians, took Leuven and Ghent, and Brussels.

(2) French intervention.

Leopold appealed for help to France. A French army invaded Belgium and the Dutch withdrew. The French proposed to remain until the Dutch fortresses had been dismantled in accordance with the orders of the Conference of London, but Palmanton, who had successfully rejected Talleyrand's attempt to secure

Belgian territory for France, insisted that they should withdraw immediately in order to avoid a general war.

E. The Twenty-four Articles.

"The Eighteen Articles had perished at Courtrai." The Belgians were humbled by their defeat.

October 1830, 1831. By the Twenty-four Articles issued by the Conference of the Powers, Belgium was compelled to surrender to Holland Maastricht, Limburg and eastern Luxembourg; to undertake a larger portion of the debt; to pay to Holland dues for the navigation of the Scheldt.

Leopold's threat to resign unless these terms were accepted compelled the Congress to agree to them, and in January, 1832, France and Britain, in April, Austria and Prussia, still in May, Russia, ratified the articles and agreed to guarantee the independence of Belgium.

F. Convulsion of Holland.

William I refused to accept the Twenty-four Articles; he secured Italy to receive support from Nicholas I of Russia, who resisted the success of the Belgian Revolution, and refused to evacuate the citadel of Antwerp.

But Nicholas became tired of William's obstinacy; his ministers thought that if Russia supported Holland the peace of Europe would be endangered. The French took Antwerp from the Dutch on December 23d, 1832, a united French and British fleet blockaded the Dutch coast and the mouth of the Scheldt.

May 23d, 1833. An armistice was declared, but Belgium still held parts of Luxembourg and Limburg and a few forts at the mouth of the Scheldt.

G. The Final Settlement.

May 19th, 1838. By the Treaty of London the Belgians were compelled, to their great indignation, to

surrender parts of Luxembourg and Linburg, which they had held for eight years, to Holland. The Belgian share of the debt was reduced by nearly one-half; the position of Belgium as an independent and neutral state was guaranteed by the Powers.¹

The Belgian Revolution broke the Treaty of Vienna and marks the triumph of the principle of national independence over territorialism and of parliamentary constitutionalism over absolutism.

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RUSSIA UNDER ALEXANDER I AND NICHOLAS I

PAUL
 reigned 1801.

Alexander I
 1801-1825.

Constantine,
 Viceroy of Poland,
 d. 1831.

Nicholas I
 1825-1855.

Alexander II
 1855-1881.

Alexander III
 1881-1894.

Nicholas II
 1894-1917.

I. The Position of Russia in 1818.

A. Extent and Influence.

Successful war and diplomacy enabled Alexander I to add to Russia Poland, the Grand Duchy of Warsaw,

¹ This treaty was described by the German Chancellor Bismarck following as "a copy of paper" in August 1894.

Belgrade, Tarnopol, Bessarabia and Georgia. Russia had become the greatest European state and had a population of forty-five million people. Alexander's efforts against Napoleon had won for him great influence and he was regarded as one of the champions of liberalism.

But the rapid extension of the territory of Russia had led to serious difficulties and prevented reform, while fear of her great power led the Western Nations to insist on the integrity of Turkey as a counterpoise to Russia and greatly aggravated the Eastern Question.

B. Lack of Union.

The different parts of Russia were divided by differences of race, customs and religion.

(1) Religion.

In Great Russia, Lesser Russia and among the people of White Russia the Greek Church was strong although there was a considerable number of Dissenters; Lithuania and the nobles of White Russia were Catholics; the Baltic provinces were Lutheran; many Mahomedans were found to the east of the Volga and, together with many Armenian Christians, in the Caucasus. Many Jews lived in the cities of Lesser Russia, in Western Russia and Bessarabia.

Tolerance was shown to Jews, Protestants, Catholics and Mahomedans, but dissent from the Greek Church was illegal.

(2) Nationality.

The Old Russian stock was found at its purest in Greater Russia; many Tartars lived along the Volga; a considerable number of Germans had settled in different parts of the country; Romanians, Moldavians, Wallachians were found in the South; many Poles had settled in the North-West.

(2) *Separate States.*

Unlike the rest of the country the Grand Duchy of Finland and the Kingdom of Poland formed separate states under the suzerainty of the Czar.

The sovereignty of the Czar was the bond that united these heterogeneous elements.

C. *Government.*

(1) The three central official Councils had practically ceased to discharge their proper functions.

a. *The Council of State.*

The Council was engaged in an unsuccessful attempt to codify Russian law and did not deliberate on proposed laws.

b. *The Senate.*

The Senate failed to discharge its duties of supervising the administration (except in as far as it arranged for the Senatorial inspection of provinces), of promulgating laws, of acting as a Court of Appeal.

c. *The Committee of Ministers.*

Alexander communicated directly with individual ministers, and the Committee of Ministers therefore failed to fulfil the duty of centralising authority for which it was established.

The authority of the Czar remained absolute in every department of state. There was "no other government centre than his residence, no law but his decrees (*ukases*), no public authority but his officials, no institutions but those he was pleased to establish."¹

(2) *Corruption.*

The Government was utterly corrupt. Provincial

¹ *Sighebot.*

governors made fortunes by extortion; all officials supplemented their inadequate salaries by taking bribes; appointments were obtained by bribery; justice was sold.

The price of vodka was doubled in order to raise the profit the Government made from this monopoly and to fill the pockets of officials. "The Government took active steps to make the people drunk."

The official appropriated funds intended to support prisoners, who suffered from starvation and lived in appalling conditions.

D. Finance.

The finances were in a hopeless condition and the currency was debased.

E. The Army.

The financial difficulty was due largely to the cost of the army, to which a third of the revenue was devoted. From 1805 to 1815 the Russian army had lost about 1,300,000 men, and vacancies were filled by a system of recruitment so severe that in some districts "only women, children, old men and cripples remained in the villages." Soldiers served for twenty-five years under intolerable conditions and brutal discipline.

By 1825 one-third of the army lived in the Military Colonies which Alexander started in 1810. These inflicted great hardship on the inhabitants, who were at the mercy of the soldiers.

Alexander maintained his army on a war footing in time of peace and in 1825 it numbered about 750,000 men.

F. The Church.

(1) The Synod.

The Holy Synod originated in the Spiritual Department.

most founded by Peter the Great in 1721¹; it was subject to the Government but wished to become independent.

(2) The Clergy.

a. The Parish Priests.

The "White" clergy or "Popes" were ignorant, drunken and too poor to make proper provision for their families.

b. The Monks.

The "Black" Clergy had 377 monasteries, many of which were extremely wealthy. They were more intelligent than the parish-priests and of rather better character. They secured the higher positions in the church and succeeded in preventing the Government from confiscating the wealth to which they partly owed the great power they exercised in Russia.

3. Social Classes.

(1) The Nobles.

There were 140,000 noble families in Russia and nobles were exempted from corporal punishment, the poll tax and compulsory military service. The greater nobles were wealthy and had come under the influence of Western culture. But most of the nobles were poor and, with the exception of those whose views had been widened by foreign service as officers in the army, ignorant.

Many nobles held official positions but they resented their absolute dependence upon the Government, in which Germans had gained considerable influence; they thought that the status of the nobles had been lowered by the creation of an official nobility; they objected to the power of the bureaucracy. The nobles generally were ill disposed towards the Czar.

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. II, page 486.

(3) The Serfs.

Although in 1803 nobles had been allowed to emancipate their serfs few had done so, and the serfs remained in bondage subject to "the knout, the poll tax and military service." They were often given to favourites of the Czar; the sale of serfs led to the breaking up of families; they were compelled to give forced labour to their owners and their scanty means were diminished by the heartless extortions of officials.

(7) The Middle Class.

The merchants were organised in guilds. Much business was transacted at the great fairs of Nijni-Novgorod and Government support led to the development of the manufacture of wool and iron. But war and corruption hampered industry, and the merchants "were scarcely above the peasants and had neither education nor political life."

II. Alexander I's Liberal Policy.

In the years that followed the Peace of Paris Alexander not only tried to establish a constitution in Poland¹ and to help the Greeks to win their independence² but also made some attempt to put his Liberal theories into practice in Russia. To do this he sought the support of "Young Russia," a society of noble youths, including many officers of the Guards, who were sincerely anxious to redress the evils from which Russia was suffering. Bestuzhev, Rylov and Pushkin were among the most prominent members.

A. Serfdom.

1818-1829. Ideas of reform which abolished serfdom, but did not give land to the peasants, in Esthonia, Courland and Livonia.

¹ Page 165.

Page 63.

1818. The position of the peasants in provinces taken from Poland was improved by the grant of free sale for their crops and the limitation of forced labour to fixed days.

1818. A scheme was propounded by which the Treasury should purchase lands and emancipate the serfs.

B. The Church.

1818. Alexander sanctioned the establishment of a Bible Society.

1819. Alexander ordered the payment to the clergy of salaries varying according to their academic qualifications.

1827. The Synod was reorganised and, together with the general administration of the Church, placed under the authority of the Minister of Education, Prince Galitzin.

C. Senatorial Inspections.

Senators were sent to redress grievances, and particularly to deal with oppression by officials, in Poland.

D. Secret Societies.

Secret societies, among whom the Freemasons were conspicuous, were allowed free scope, and the *Society of the Green Lamp*, the organ of "Young Russia," acted with the knowledge and approval of Alexander.

E. The University of St. Petersburg.

1829. Foundation of the University of St. Petersburg.

F. Poland.

November, 1818. Alexander granted a constitution to Poland.¹

¹ Page 184.

G. Finland.

Alexander confirmed the constitution of Finland as a separate state, under the suzerainty of Russia, in which only Lutheran natives could hold any appointments or serve in the army. He extended Finland by the addition of Viborg.

H. General.

But these reforms, though well intentioned, achieved little success, partly owing to the reactionary policy of Arakchreff, the " assassin of the Russian people."

III. Alexander becomes Reactionary.

The speech Alexander delivered to the Polish Diet on March 31th, 1818, marks the culminating point of Alexander's Liberalism. The murder of Kotzebue in March, 1819¹; the assassination of the Duc de Berry in February, 1820; the warning of Metternich as to the imminent danger of the spread of revolutionary doctrine; the risings in Spain, Naples and Portugal; the revolt of the Semenovskiy regiment of the Guards in October, 1820; the knowledge that his policy had proved a failure at home and abroad, led him to adopt a policy of reaction.

A. Serfdom.

The schemes for the emancipation of the serfs were dropped and they remained in bondage to their owners.

B. The Church.

Berplikin, Bishop of Tver, supported by Flavian the Archimandrite, succeeded in persuading Alexander to change his ecclesiastical policy. Owing to their efforts in 1824, Galitsin was dismissed, the old authority of the Synod was restored, the work of the Bible Society was restricted.

C. Secret Societies.

1822. Suppression of secret societies and Masonic lodges.

D. Education.

1818. Cailletin subjected text-books to rigorous censorship, and teachers and professors were instructed to use their position to support the existing religious and political system.

1828. Although attempts were made to improve elementary and secondary education they proved unsuccessful and, largely owing to Government restrictions, the University of St. Petersburg attracted few students.

E. Finland.

In spite of the terms of the constitution Russians of the Greek Church received official posts in Finland, and local officials were removed at the will of the Russian governor; the Diet did not meet; financial measures, which nominally were under the control of the Diet, were carried out on the sole authority of the Emperor; a strict censorship was extended over foreign books brought into the country.

F. Poland.

A similar policy was adopted in Poland.²

IV. Alexander I.

December 1st, 1825. Death of Alexander I at Taganrog.

Alexander was inspired by the determination to use for the good of Russia and Europe the commanding position he had secured by his success against Napoleon; after 1815 he made an attempt to apply the principles of Liberalism. But his attempt failed partly owing to

² Page 187.

the opposition of the supporters of the old order, largely because of his own lack of steady purpose which prevented him from achieving real greatness. The fear of the spread of revolutionary principles led him to adopt a reactionary policy which was utterly inconsistent with his earlier hopes and professions.

His last years were years of deep depression, relieved by religious resignation. His death, which was accelerated by the refusal to take the medicine his doctors prescribed, was a happy release from a life always clouded with the knowledge that he shared the moral responsibility for his father's murder, and of late rendered miserable by the failure of his policy at home and abroad. He has been well described as "a splinter full of riddles," and "a crowned Hamlet."

V. Nicholas I.

A. The Decabrist Conspiracy.

1. (1) Discontent.

Discontent at the failure of Alexander I to carry out his promised reforms led to the development of secret societies, of which the Northern Society at St. Petersburg advocated constitutional monarchy, the Southern Society in Little Russia a republic, and the United Slavs, who were in strong sympathy with the Poles, federation.

Discontent was intensified, particularly in the "Young Russia" party which included many officers, by the teaching of the French Revolution, the demand for political freedom in Germany, and by the assertion of freedom in the writings of Byron and the Polish writer Mickiewicz. The devotion of Russians to the Greek Church led to strong resentment at the failure of Alexander to give effective help to the Greeks against Turkey.

The system, largely owing to the advice of Rykoff,

resolved to promote a military insurrection on January 1st, 1825, which should set up a temporary government, with Trochutskoi as dictator, pending the settlement of the succession. If the insurrection proved successful measures would be taken to secure a constitution, reduce the period of military service to fifteen years, and emancipate the serfs.

(3) *The Succession.*

Constantine, the elder brother of Alexander, had renounced his right of succession, but the renunciation had not been made public, although Alexander had left a secret manifesto declaring that Nicholas, his younger brother, was to succeed him. Nicholas and the troops at St. Petersburg and Moscow took the oath of allegiance to Constantine. But Constantine, learning of the manifesto and of the conspiracy in the army, finally renounced his rights.

December 26th, 1825. Accession of Nicholas I.

(4) *The Rising.*

The officers at St. Petersburg and Moscow declared for Constantine and the Constitution, and won over some of the soldiers who thought "Constitution" was the name of Constantine's wife. The artillery did not join, and the support of the artillery enabled Nicholas easily to suppress the revolt which broke out at St. Petersburg on December 26th, 1825.

At their trial the mutineers were represented as common criminals and no mention was made of the reforms they genuinely wished to effect. Thirty-six were sentenced to death, but only five, including Rykoff and Pestel, were executed; the remainder and eighty-five others were banished to Siberia.

B. *Autocratic Government.*

Nicholas I, who had "the ideas of a drill-sergeant and the religious assurance of a Covenanter," was opposed to

Liberalism and the Decabrist Conspiracy confirmed him in his opposition; he felt that it was his duty to "shut out from Holy Russia, the ideas of the heretical West" and to restore the old orthodox Russia; he declared that the Eastern Question was part of "the domestic concerns of Russia."

He gave some consideration to the programme of the Decabrists, but a Committee he appointed to consider the condition of the serfs led to no result. "Nicholism" became pure autocracy. But it is possible that, in view of the grave unrest and the inefficiency and corruption of officials, the autocratic government of Nicholas I was more advantageous to Russia than the premature introduction of internal reforms would have been.

(1) Repression.

Personal freedom practically disappeared.

a. The Third Section.

1838. Institution of the Third Section of the Imperial Chancery, under which the police system became a terrible instrument of political oppression.

b. Travel.

Foreigners who were permitted to enter Russia were strictly supervised by the police. Russians could leave Russia only with the personal permission of the Czar and for a maximum period of five years.

Nicholas I strongly opposed the extension of railways and only 532 miles were constructed in his reign.

c. Censorship.

Foreign books and papers were admitted only after censorship; Russian newspapers were strictly supervised.

1840. Restrictions were placed on the intro-

cution of books on anatomy and physiology on the ground that these were indecent.

1849. Some young men, including Dostoevsky, were condemned to death, but finally exiled to Siberia, for discussing European publications.

3) The Church.

Nicholas I was a strong supporter of the Orthodox Greek Church.

1838. Final suppression of the Bible Society.

1839. The "Uniates" of Lithuania, who had adopted a compromise between the Catholic and Greek Churches, were compelled to accept the Orthodox Greek faith.

The Dissenters or "Old Believers" were persecuted; any attempt to convert an Orthodox believer was punished by imprisonment or, for a third offence, exile to Siberia; the Orthodox priests alone could celebrate mixed marriages, and the children of such marriages were to be brought up in the Orthodox belief.

(4) The Serfs.

In 1838 the serfs numbered forty-four per cent. of the population of Russia and their condition was appalling.

a. Attempts at Reform.

Attempts were made to reform the condition of the serfs. The government of villages was improved in 1833; a Ministry of Domains was instituted in 1837 to secure better treatment for serfs; restrictions were imposed on the sale of serfs.

b. Peasant Revolt.

But no general measure of emancipation was introduced under Nicholas I and unrest led to frequent revolts, which averaged twenty-three

a year from 1828 to 1834 and numbered sixty-eight in 1848.

(8) Industry.

a. Factories.

Factory owners were exempted from military service and industry was protected by heavy duties. Moscow became an important industrial centre. Many factories were owned by nobles and "a cloth factory could be found on every well-managed estate."

b. Workmen.

The nobles used their own serfs as workers and paid them no wages. But this cheap labour proved inefficient. Other factory owners had difficulty in securing workmen, at low wages and long hours, amounting to seven or ten a day in summer, caused many strikes.

Prince Galitsin tried to improve the lot of the workmen, but a Factory Act, passed in 1833, and a law limiting the hours of labour of children under twelve, passed in 1845, were not put into force.

c. The Cotton Trade.

Partly owing to high tariffs, partly to the increase of wage-earning free labour, the Cotton Trade prospered; the import of raw cotton increased more than twentyfold between 1825 and 1835. Some industries prospered but the linen trade declined.

d. General.

The urgent need of free workmen and the serious consequences of peasant outbreaks and workmen's strikes made the problem of the Emancipation of the Serfs a most pressing question.

(5) Finland.

December, 1808. No mention was made of the constitutional rights of the Grand Duchy in the oath of allegiance taken by the Senate.

August, 1807. Members of the Greek Church were formally declared eligible for office in Finland.

Finnish became liable to exile to Siberia and the Finnish army was compelled to fight against the Poles, who were striving to maintain the constitutional rights which Finland had lost.

(6) Poland.¹

Nicholas suppressed the constitution and persecuted the Catholics.

.. The Extension of Russia.

The increase in population at home and the need of finding fresh markets for her growing trade led Russia to seek new territory.

(1) Extension of Territory.

a. Central Asia.

February, 1806. By the Treaty of Turkmenchay Persia made peace and surrendered Erivan, thus strengthening Russian influence in the Far East.

b. The Danube.

September, 1829. By the Treaty of Adrianople² Russia secured the right of free navigation in the Bosphorus and Dardanelles and occupied Moldavia and Wallachia.

c. Poland.

1832. Poland became practically a Russian province.

d. Siberia.

The construction of Petropavlovsk, in 1849, and Nikolairovet, in 1850, and the acquisition

¹ Page 171.

² Page 22.

from China of land about the Amur, strengthening Russian authority in Siberia, which solved not only convicts but many free men who left Russia owing to religious persecutions or the harsh conditions of military service.

D. Foreign Policy.

Nicholas, the Autocrat of Europe, strove to assert principles of Legitimism and Absolutism against Liberalism and Revolution. He was anxious to maintain settlement of Europe which had been effected by the treaty of 1815.

(1) Austria.

Austria and Russia were rivals in Eastern Europe but Nicholas was inclined to support Austria, who was a Legitimist Monarchy and stood for the treaty of 1815.

1822. At Münchengrätz the Czar, the Emperor of Austria and the Crown Prince of Prussia affirmed principle of Legitimacy and the Holy Alliance offered to help independent sovereigns who asked help against Liberals. These principles were affirmed at Trojitz in 1825.

1849. Nicholas intervened in Hungary¹ and restored the kingdom to Francis Joseph without compensation or condition.

1850. But Nicholas resented the attitude Austria at Olmitz² and feared that the interests Russia would be prejudiced if Austria became powerful.

1856. He resented as an act of treachery and gratified the vanity of Austria in the Crimean War.

(2) Prussia.

Prussia was a Legitimist Monarchy, but Bismarck viewed with suspicion the growth of Prussian power. He was aware between the two countries, the rivalry

¹ Page 163.

² Page 164.

which were united by family ties, but relations were sometimes strained.

1825. Austria and Prussia objected to the proposed mediation of Great Britain and Russia in the Greek Question.

1828 and 1829. The Agreements of Münchengrätz and Troppau strengthened friendly relations.

1840. Prussia joined with Russia and Great Britain in the Conference of London.

1843. Nicholas strongly resented the concessions made to the Revolutionists by Frederick William IV.¹

1850. There seemed a danger that Russia would support Austria against Prussia in the Schleswig-Holstein Question.

(3) Great Britain.

Great Britain was at once Legitimist and Liberal. But Nicholas seemed anxious to maintain friendly relations, and the two countries, by the Protocol of St. Petersburg,² 1826, agreed to co-operate in regard to Greece.

The Reform Bill of 1832 alarmed Nicholas, who said that William IV had "thrown his crown into the gutter"; the League of Münchengrätz was answered by the Quadruple Alliance of Great Britain, France, Spain and Portugal in 1834.

Great Britain resented the Treaty of Unkiah Skolwen in 1833,³ but cordially co-operated with Russia, Prussia and Austria in 1840 to compel Mehemet Ali to withdraw from Syria.

The Commercial Treaty between Great Britain and Russia in 1842, the formal recognition by Nicholas of the Kingdom of Belgium in 1843, the visit of Nicholas to England in 1844, led to closer relations between the countries. Nicholas tried to come to an understanding with Great Britain with regard to Turkey. His failure was followed by the Crimean War.

¹ Page 215.

² Page 94.

³ Page 138.

(4) France.

Louis Philippe and Napoleon III owed their thrones to revolution and Nicholas was unwilling to recognise them.

1848. The exclusion of France from the Quadruple Alliance caused much indignation.

Personal differences between Napoleon III and Nicholas rendered friendship between their countries more difficult.

(5) Belgium.

Nicholas strongly objected to the reform of the Revolution in Belgium as well as in France, but the Polish Revolt¹ prevented him from operations in France against Louis Philippe or in Belgium in favour of William I of Holland.

(6) For Nicholas's attitude towards Turkey and Greece, see pages 92 to 93.

(7) The Crimean War.²

References :

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. X, chap. xiii; Vol. XI, chap. ix.

A Political History of Contemporary Europe (Seignobos), Holtsmeier, chap. xix.

POLAND, 1815-1882

Poland had seized the opportunity afforded by Napoleon of securing her independence. The Congress of Vienna had given much of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw to Russia, which now held about nine-tenths of the original territory of Poland, and Prussia to Prussia. It had made Cracow a free city. But it had made the remainder of Poland into a kingdom separate from Russia although under the suzerainty of the Czar as King of Poland; it had recog-

¹ Page 158.

² Pages 271-293.

and Polish nationality, although that feeling was weakened by the division of Polish territory; it had recognised the right of Poland to have its own constitution.

I. Alexander's Liberal Policy.

A. The Constitution, 1815.

November 17th, 1815. Alexander granted a constitution to Poland.

(1) The Crown.

The Crown was to be hereditary in the Russian Imperial Family, and the King was to be represented by a Viceroy who presided over a Council of State and also over the Administrative Council of Ministers who formed the Executive.

(2) The Diet.

The Diet was to consist of two Chambers: the Senate appointed by the King; the Chamber of Deputies, the members of which were elected from equal electoral districts partly by the nobles, partly by members of the commercial, industrial and professional classes.

(3) Poland for the Poles.

Polish was to be the official language; only Poles were eligible for civil and military posts; the Polish army was to retain its national uniform.

(4) Religion.

Religious toleration was established and Roman Catholicism ceased to be the national religion.

(5) Liberty.

Liberty of the person and of the press was guaranteed.

March 23rd, 1818. Alexander commended the progress made in Poland and was understood to express his determination to add Lithuania to Poland.

broken, especially after 1819, when Alexander re-commenced his Liberalism.

Patriots resented Alexander's failure to add Lithuania to Poland.

Liberals complained that the censorship of the press had been introduced in 1819; that personal liberty had been restricted; that the Diet was not summoned from 1819 to 1824; and that in February, 1825, the Additional Act forbade the publication of the proceedings of the Diet. Secret societies, often Masonic, were formed.

1824. Impeachment of Łukasiński, the leader of the Patriotic Society, which continued its activity under Kryszewsky and carried on negotiations with the Russian Southern Society.

But Alexander's personal relations with the Poles were friendly and no serious difficulties arose in his reign.

(3) Under Nicholas.

Nicholas abandoned the idea of adding Lithuania to Poland and tried to "Russify" the civil and military organisation of the province.

1828. The Court of the Diet having passed lenient sentences on Kryszewsky and other members of secret societies, Nicholas tried, unsuccessfully, to induce the Council of State to condemn the Court of the Diet.

Nicholas ceased to summon the Diet, the number of Russian officials in Poland was greatly increased and the supporters of authority began to consider the question of reviving the constitution.

B. Opposition.

The middle class counted for little. Although the serfs had been enfranchised in 1807 they had received no land and remained at the mercy of the nobles. The opposition to Russian autocracy came from

the only effective element in the country, but the nobles generally fought not for their country but for their class. "It has been the fatal, the irreparable base of Poland that its nobles, until too late, saw no country, no right, as lay outside itself."¹ The nobles were divided into two parties, and this division was ultimately to prove fatal to the Polish cause.

(1) The Aristocratic Whites.

The great nobles and higher officials led by Czarnecki, the friend of Alexander I, saw that active resistance was hopeless, but wished to take full advantage of the Constitution of 1815 and ultimately to secure the independence of Poland.

(2) The Democratic Reds.

The Reds were composed of lesser nobles, students of Warsaw University and military officers. They worked in secret societies. They had planned a rising in 1828 when Russia was engaged in the Turkish War, but this favorable opportunity was not utilized.

IV. The Polish Insurrection, 1830-1832.

A. The Outbreak.

The July Revolution in France led to the Polish Insurrection. It inspired the Reds to greater efforts, while Nicholas resolved to use the Polish army to put down the revolutionaries in France and Belgium.

November 29th, 1830. The Reds, supported by Polish troops intended for service in France, seized Warsaw. Constantine fled to Bagdad, taking with him Russian troops and officials. The revolutionaries should have kept him as a hostage.

B. The Whites negotiate with Nicholas.

The Whites, of whom Czartoriski and Lubowski were the most prominent, now took the lead. They demanded further rights. They set up a Provisional Rada. See also *Notes on European History*, Vol. III, page 187.

Government on December 4th, and the next day Chłopicki accepted the Dictatorship "in the King's name." They opened negotiations with Nicholas, who insisted on immediate surrender.

The Whites made a grave mistake. They feared that armed revolution might alienate Austria and Prussia, whose help they hoped to secure in their peaceful efforts to restore the constitution, but the autocratic character of Nicholas would never allow him to submit to their demands. Prompt action could have secured a Polish army of 80,000 men; the Russians were unprepared; an immediate invasion of Lithuania, in which the Russian garrisons were weak, would probably have secured the support of that country.

C. The Reds.

(1) The Independence of Poland.

The Reds secured the direction of the insurrection.

January 19th, 1831. Radziwiłł was appointed to succeed Chłopicki, who resigned.

January 26th, 1831. On the receipt of Nicholas' demands for immediate surrender, the Diet declared that he was dethroned, the Romanoffs excluded from the throne of Poland, and that Poland was independent of Russia.

The dethronement of Nicholas hastened the warlike preparations of Russia and made it difficult for the Powers to assist Poland by diplomacy.

(2) The Powers.

a. France.

Local sympathy was expressed for the Polish cause in France, and this led the Reds to expect French intervention. But Casimir-Périer, anxious to secure the support of Nicholas for the Orleanist Monarchy, refused to intervene, and communicated to Nicholas the negotiations he received from Poland.

b. Great Britain.

Many people sympathized with the Poles, but statesmen were too busy with the problem of Parliamentary reform to help the Poles, and Palmerston's attempt, in November 1831, to secure some measure of independence for Poland proved unsuccessful.

c. Austria.

Austria welcomed any movement which would weaken Russia, and Metternich suggested that the Archduke Charles of Austria should become King of Poland. On the refusal of the Poles to accept Charles Austria remained neutral.

d. Prussia.

Prussia supplied troops and provisions to the Russians and massed troops on the Polish frontier in the hope that she might again secure a share of the spoils.

D. The Insurrection crushed.

The time spent in negotiation gave Nicholas time to collect his troops and strengthen the Russian garrisons in Lithuania.

February 8th, 1831. Dabłowski invaded Poland with 120,000 men.

February 23rd, 1831. Dabłowski defeated the Poles at Grochow but lost so heavily that his progress was checked.

March, 1831. The Polish army was reorganised and defeated some Russian detachments. But the lack of energy shown by the Polish General Skarynski prevented the Poles from striking a decisive blow; the Polish army was weakened by unsuccessful raids into Lithuania, and the Russians seized the opportunity to

May 24th, 1831. Dąbrowski routed Skrzyński at Ostrołęka.

The Poles were further weakened by quarrels between the Reds and the Whites, which led Chałubiński to resign from the Government.

September 8th, 1831. Paskiewicz captured Warsaw.

E. The Subjugation of Poland.

February, 1832. Paskiewicz was appointed Viceroy of Poland.

The Constitution of 1815 was abolished, the Diet suppressed; a rigorous censorship of the press was instituted; all associations and public meetings were forbidden; the Polish army was incorporated in the Russian; the chief posts were filled by Russians and all officials had to speak Russian; the University of Warsaw and many schools were closed. In 1838 about 20,000 Poles were sent to Siberia.

Poland lost her independence and became a province of Russia with no protection against the autocratic government of the Czar.

References :

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. X, chap. XIV.

A History of Modern Europe (Fyffe), Cassell, pp. 615-630.

The Story of the Nations : Poland, chap. xiv.

MEHMET ALI

I. General Conditions.

The career of Mehmet Ali not only threatened the integrity of the Turkish Empire but aroused such differences of opinion between the Powers of Europe that it seemed likely at one time to lead to a European war.

A. Russia and the Western Powers.

The Holy Alliance had broken up.

The "Liberal" Powers, France and Great Britain, had co-operated in Belgium, Spain and Portugal. Nicholas I, the champion of autocracy, resented the attempt of the Western Powers to support "oppressed nationalities"; he had intended to support William I of Holland against the Belgians and thoroughly disapproved of the "revolutionary" monarchy of Louis Philippe. He considered that William IV, whom he regarded as a "legitimate" king, had "thrown his crown into the gutter" by accepting the Batavia Bill; he believed that the British Monarchy would soon be overthrown, and regarded Palmerston as a Jacobin.

The obvious desire of Russia to secure pre-eminence in Turkey alarmed France and Great Britain, who feared that their interests in the Mediterranean might suffer.

The extension of Russian influence over the wild Khanates of Central Asia and in Persia and Mesopotamia, without raising suspicion of danger to India, but as yet had caused no grave trouble, although serious rivalry had arisen between British and Russian agents in the valley of the Euphrates.

B. Russia, Prussia and Austria.

Austria feared that the revolutionary movements of 1830 might spread in Hungary and other parts of her territory and was anxious to secure the help of Russia if necessary. Prussia followed the lead of Austria. Nicholas urged that the Eastern Powers should "support Divine Right" against the Western Powers which "provoke heady rebellion and the overthrow of all stability."

March, 1833. At Berlin the Eastern Powers agreed to act in concert in Belgium.

September, 1833. At the Convention of Munich the Eastern Powers agreed to uphold the interests

of Turkey and the overwhelming power of the Sultan, and to act together if the Turkish Empire failed to maintain its power.

The Eastern Powers asserted the right of intervention in a sovereign state at the request of its ruler.

October 15th, 1833. The Convention was ratified at Berlin.

C. The Powers and Turkey.

(1) Great Britain.

Great Britain was anxious to maintain the integrity of the Turkish Empire to check the growing power of Russia. She feared that if Mehmet Ali became independent he would hamper the British trade with India through the Red Sea and hinder the development of British interests in the Euphrates valley; she resented the injury done to British trade by the commercial monopoly Mehmet Ali had established in Egypt.

(2) France.

France was anxious to check the growing power of Russia in the Levant, but had, in 1830, broken the integrity of the Turkish Empire by conquering Algeria. France, partly owing to Napoleon's campaign in 1798,² had a strong sentimental interest in Egypt: French officers had organised Mehmet Ali's army. There was a strong feeling in France in favour of supporting Mehmet Ali in Egypt, partly because the presence of a French ally in Egypt would strengthen the influence of France in the Mediterranean and limit the advantage Great Britain derived from the possession of Malta and Gibraltar, partly because the French Government believed that the rule of Mehmet Ali would be a better thing for Egypt than the rule of the SENAT.

² *Notes on European History*, Vol. III, page 486.

(2) Russia.

Russia was bound to take an active interest in Turkey.

The subjects of the Sultan who were members of the Greek Church looked to the Czar for protection.

Russia had established herself on the Black Sea and naturally wished to secure a free outlet into the Mediterranean. The conquest of Constantinople therefore became "the duty" of the Czar, although it would have upset the balance of power in the Mediterranean.

The Treaty of Adrianople, 1829, had confirmed the treaty rights of Russia in the navigation of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles.

Turkey had practically become a vassal of Russia. But in 1839 a Commission had reported to the Czar that the actual conquest of the Turkish Empire by Russia was undesirable, and the integrity of Turkey had been guaranteed by the Convention of Mitteleuropa. But this guarantee had been kept secret and the Western Powers still thought that Russia was bent on the conquest of Turkey.

July 8th, 1833. The need of Russian help against Mehmet Ali led the Sultan to conclude with Nicholas the Treaty of Unkjar Skelessi, by which a close defensive alliance was formed and, by a secret article, the Sultan undertook to close the Dardanelles to all vessels "on behalf" i.e. at the demand of Russia.

The treaty seemed to give Russia complete ascendancy by making the Dardanelles a Russian fortified post near Constantinople. It led to strong protests from France and Great Britain. In practice it remained little more than, as the Czar called it, "an interfering, historical document." The Czar seemed to obtain the goodwill of Great Britain, although it was false. It did not prevent the British and French fleets from entering the Black Sea in 1854.

[I. From the Outbreak of Revolt to the Treaty of Unkjar
Skakiss, November, 1831, to July, 1833.

A. Mehmet Ali.

(1) Pasha of Egypt.

Mehmet Ali, an Albanian, had been appointed Pasha of Egypt by the Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839). With the help of French officers he reorganized his army and navy, and in 1811 strengthened his position by massacring the Mamluks. He extended his authority to the South and founded Khartoum in 1833. He gained great wealth by abolishing private ownership of land and making the chief articles of trade Government monopolies.

(2) Mehmet Ali and the Sultan.

a. Syria and Damascus.

Mahmud II had promised to Mehmet Ali the possession of Crete, Syria and Damascus as a reward for his help against the Greeks.¹ He gave him only Crete because, owing to the intervention of the Powers, Mehmet Ali had failed to reduce the Greeks. Mehmet Ali resolved to seize Syria and Damascus.

b. Khayrev.

Khayrev, the Sultan's commander-in-chief, and other officials at Constantinople were the enemies of Mehmet Ali, and urged the Sultan to crush the Pasha of Egypt as he had recently crushed the rebellious Pashas of Bosnia and Serbia.

c. Mahmud and the Young Turks.

Mahmud had endeavored, with the help of the Young Turk party to introduce European civilization into Turkey, and had aroused strong opposition among orthodox Mahme-

¹ Page 84.

reforms by proposing to secularise the government and to give equal religious rights to all his subjects irrespective of their religious belief. Mehemet Ali was suspected of claiming the Khalifat and posing as the Champion of Orthodoxy against the reforming Sultan.

B. The Successes of Ibrahim.

Mehemet Ali, fearing that the Sultan would attack him with the reorganisation of the Turkish army was completed, sent an expedition into Syria under his son Ibrahim. He professed his loyalty to the Sultan and asserted that the object of the expedition was to punish the Pasha of Acre, who had given shelter to Egyptian refugees.

(1) Ibrahim overran Syria and invaded Asia Minor.

November 1st, 1831. Ibrahim invaded Syria and besieged Acre.

May 27th, 1832. Ibrahim, who had easily conquered Southern Palestine, captured Acre. The resistance of Acre gave time for the Sultan to reorganise his army.

June 15th, 1832. Ibrahim took Damascus.

July 17th, 1832. Following the defeat of the Pasha of Aleppo at Hama (July 9th) and Hamaish (July 11th), Ibrahim took Aleppo.

July 25th, 1832. Ibrahim routed the Turkish army under Hussein at Beilan and secured the passes of the Taurus.

December 2nd, 1832. Ibrahim utterly routed the main Turkish army under Reshid at Erzinab¹ and advanced towards the Bosphorus.

(2) Reasons of Ibrahim's Success.

a. Turkish inefficiency.

Ibrahim's well-trained army was far superior to the hastily organised Turkish forces; the

¹ The ancient Erzinium.

Turkish navy had not been made efficient after its crushing defeat at Navarino¹ in 1827.

A. Ibrahim's skilful policy.

Ibrahim had skilfully conciliated the people of the conquered countries, whose opposition would have seriously hampered his progress. He had won over the Christians by promising them toleration and placing Christian governors in some cities; he promised the peasants to lighten the heavy burden of taxation the Turks had imposed upon them; he secured the help of the warlike tribes of the Lebanon; the Arabs of the desert, always hostile to Turkey, readily supported an attack on the Sultan.

c. The Powers.

Although the attitude of most of the Powers was doubtful, France was friendly and Mehmet Ali hoped to accomplish his purpose before the slow diplomacy of the Powers hampered his progress.

C. Russian Intervention.

The grave danger from Ibrahim compelled Mahomed to seek foreign aid. France sympathized with Mehmet Ali and Great Britain was unwilling to act without the co-operation of France; Austria was in close alliance with Russia. Nicholas, who had shown great moderation in enforcing the Treaty of Adrianople, now offered help which the Sultan, with reluctance, accepted in February, 1833, on the ground, as one of his officials said, that "a drowning man clings to a serpent."

February 25th, 1833. A Russian expedition entered the Bosphorus.

D. The Convention of Kiotagh, April, 1833.

(1.) Unsuccessful French negotiation.

Great Britain and France viewed with alarm the

¹ Page 98.

entry of the Russian fleet into the Bosphorus. France promised to induce Mehmet Ali to accept the Sultan's terms, but Mehmet Ali rejected the Sultan's offer of the pashaliks of Acre, Nabkous, Jerusalem and Tripoli as inadequate, demanded Adana, which would have given the efficient Egyptian navy a base dangerously near to Constantinople, and ordered Ibrahim to push on to Scutari if the Sultan refused to grant his demands.

(f) Further Russian aid.

April 5th, 1833. In response to a further appeal from the Sultan a further detachment of the Russian fleet entered the Bosphorus and 6000 Russian troops were landed on the coast of Asia Minor; the number was soon raised to about 13,000.

(g) The Convention of Kistayeh.

Great Britain and France sent squadrons to the Archipelago, and the Sultan, owing to strong pressure from the British and French ambassadors, and to famine in Constantinople caused partly by the supplies required by the Russian forces, agreed by the Convention of Kistayeh to appoint Mehmet Ali as Pasha of Egypt and Syria and Ibrahim as Governor of Adana, which acknowledged the power of the Turks.

E. The Treaty of Unkjar Skelessi.

The Sultan resented the action of the Western Powers in sending squadrons to the Archipelago and practically compelling him to come to terms with Mehmet Ali. Russia assured him of her friendship and promised to support him in arms if necessary against France and Great Britain.

July 24th, 1833. The Sultan therefore made with Russia the Treaty of Unkjar Skelessi.³

III. The Renewal of War, 1839.

A. Revolt against Ibrahim.

Ibrahim had carried out some of his promises in Syria; he had established equality of religion and given Christians a share in local government. But he was obliged to maintain a large army and required a large revenue to pay for it; he therefore introduced a rigorous system of conscription, imposed heavy taxes, and introduced many Government monopolies.

1834. Syria rose in revolt, and Ibrahim was so hard pressed that Mehmet Ali had to come to his help. The revolt was suppressed and the country placed under strict military rule.

B. The Powers, 1833-1839.

(1) Differences between Russia and the Western Powers.

The Treaty of Unkjar Skelessi, which had made Turkey the vassal of Russia, and ignorance that the Convention of Münchengrätz had declared in favour of the integrity of Turkey, intensified the bad feeling between Russia and the Western Powers.

The relations between Russia and Great Britain were embittered by growing difficulties in the Far East, e.g. the belief that Russia had instigated the Shah of Persia to attack Herat in 1838; that British agents had intrigued against Russia in the Caucasus; that a British force had entered Persia; and that Russia was entitled to a share of trade in Central Asia which the British had monopolised.

(2) Great Britain and France.

Great Britain and France had combined to assert their objection to the privileges granted to Russia in the navigation of the Straits; they had compelled the Sultan to accept their mediation with Mehmet Ali; they agreed that Turkey should be placed under the protection of the Powers.

But a divergence in their policy gradually appeared.

Great Britain insisted on maintaining the integrity of the Turkish Empire. France hoped that Mehmet would secure independent power in Egypt, and that he would cooperate with her in limiting British influence in the Mediterranean; she may have desired that he should supersede Mahmoud II as Sultan. Palmerston, who distrusted Louis Philippe, held that the separation of Egypt from Turkey would weaken the value of the Turkish Empire as a check on Russian aggression. Mehmet Ali had tried to prevent the British from establishing trade routes to India through the Euphrates Valley and the Red Sea, and Britain therefore seized Aden in 1839 to protect the passage of the Red Sea. Mehmet Ali's commercial system was weakened by a commercial treaty made between Turkey and Great Britain on August 16th, 1838, which gave British traders a free market in the Turkish Empire. The treaty applied to Egypt, still a Turkish province.

(3) Russia and Great Britain.

Nicholas I, who strongly disliked the revolutionary monarchy of Louis Philippe, and found that he could no longer rely on the cordial co-operation of Austria, wished to preserve the integrity of Turkey, and felt that differences in the Far East were not sufficiently serious to prevent united action between Russia and Great Britain. The Czarévitch Alexander (II) visited London in May 1839, and made a most favourable impression. The Czar, through his efficient ambassador, Baron Roussine, now offered to allow the Treaty of Unkar Skeless to lapse, to act with the other Powers in Turkey, to allow Russian warships to enter the Bosphorus only with the permission of the Powers, Palmerston partly agreed to the Czar's proposals, and Great Britain and Russia hand-in-glove acted together. Austria and Prussia followed their example, and France stayed isolated.

C. Mahmud II.

Mahmud was determined to take vengeance on Mehmet Ali. The Turkish army was reorganised by Moltke. But Mahmud was prevented for four years from taking action, partly because Russia was hampered by troubles in Poland and by famine, while Nicholas feared that active support of Mahmud might lead to a war between Russia and the Western Powers; partly because France and Great Britain warned him that they would not protect him if he attacked Mehmet Ali and was unsuccessful. But Mahmud was a dying man, and he determined to crush his hated rival before he died.

April 21st, 1839. The Turks invaded Syria.

June 24th, 1839. Ibrahim utterly routed the Turks at Nezib, partly because Hafiz Pasha had refused to follow Moltke's advice.

Ibrahim secured the passage of the Taurus; the road to Constantinople lay open before him.

July 1st, 1839. Death of Mahmud II, who was succeeded by Abdul Mejid, a boy of sixteen.

Abdul Pasha, who had been sent to blockade the coast of Syria, handed over the Turkish fleet to Mehmet Ali at Alexandria on the ground that Khayr and other ministers were merely the paid agents of Russia.

IV. The Powers oppose Mehmet Ali.

The imminent danger to the Turkish Empire compelled the Powers to take immediate action. They took the young Sultan under their protection and warned Mehmet Ali, who hoped to force the weakened Turks to agree to his terms, that he must gain their sanction for any terms he made with the Porte.

A. The Quadruple Alliance.

(1) Differences between France and the other Powers.

a. French proposals.

France proposed that Mehmet Ali should receive Egypt and Syria as hereditary possessions subject only to an annual tribute to the Sultan, and that France and Great Britain should unite to deal with any problems that might arise if the Russians defended the Roussophiles against Ibrahim.

b. Palmerston's proposals.

Palmerston, anxious to maintain a good understanding with France, to protect Turkey and to avoid conflict with Russia, proposed that Mehmet should receive Egypt as a hereditary possession, should separate Northern Syria and act as governor of Palestine for his lifetime. The establishment of an understanding with Russia¹ strengthened Palmerston's position, and his proposals were accepted by France, Austria and Russia.

c. Turkey's separate negotiation.

French public opinion strongly supported Mehmet Ali, but Louis Philippe, anxious to win the favour of the "legitimate" monarchs, deprecated opposition to the Powers.

May 12th, 1840, Turkey insisted that Mehmet Ali should receive the whole of Syria, and entered on secret negotiations which would establish the power of Mehmet Ali and greatly strengthen French influence in Constantinople.

(2) The Quadruple Alliance.

a. Terms.

✓ July 15th, 1840. Great Britain, Austria, Prussia and Russia, who strongly resented the

¹ Page 180.

action of France, agreed to unite their forces to protect the Sultan and compel Mehmet Ali to submit. If the latter submitted within ten days he should receive Egypt as a hereditary pashalik and the administration of Southern Syria and the pashalik of Acre for life; if he did not submit within ten days he should be offered only the pashalik of Egypt; if he did not submit in ten days more, the offer should be withdrawn.

A. France.

The terms of the Quadruple Alliance, of which the French ambassador did not learn until July 15th, were regarded as a "scandalaffront" by France. Preparations for war were made, Paris was fortified, and Thiers talked of overthrowing the treaty of 1815 and extending the frontiers of France to the Rhine. But Louis Philippe was warned by Melbourne through Leopold of Belgium that if he went to war he would have to face the united forces of Europe, who would probably deprive him of his crown; he therefore refused to read a provocative speech from the Throne which Thiers had prepared, dismissed Thiers and called Guizot to office. Though preparations for war continued, and Nicholas I offered to send the Russian fleet to support the British against a French attack, peace was maintained.

B. The Question of Mehmet Ali.

Mehmet Ali defied the Coalition and not in spite. France guarded the Rhine against possible aggression by Prussia, and Russia Constantinople.

Guizot.

August 11th, 1840. A combined British, Austrian and Turkish fleet appeared off Beirut, and its appearance led to a general rising in Syria against Ibrahim.

October 2nd, 1840. Beirut was captured.

November 2nd, 1840. Acre was captured and Ibrahim was compelled to evacuate Syria.

The speedy defeat of Mehmet Ali disappointed the French, who had hoped that he would keep the Allies engaged until she had completed her preparations for war. The rising in Syria owing to Mehmet Ali's oppressive rule showed that their belief in his enlightened rule was incorrect.

November 25th, 1840. Admiral Napier appeared off Alexandria and induced Mehmet Ali to sign a Convention by which he promised to restore the Turkish fleet, and the Allies promised to persuade the Sultan to give him the hereditary pachalik of Egypt. The action of Napier was resented at Constantinople but approved by the Powers.

February 13th, 1841. The Sultan formally conferred on Mehmet Ali the hereditary pachalik of Egypt.

C. The Straits, Aug. 1841.

Greece, supported by Netherlands, now proposed that the integrity of Turkey should be guaranteed by the Powers, but Prussia refused to accept a proposal which seemed to be obviously aimed at Russia.

July 13th, 1841. The national pride of France was outraged when she was invited to concert in the Straits Act, which closed the Dardanelles to non-Turkish war vessels.

The Straits Act was regarded as a victory for Russia and as a confirmation of the Treaty of Unkjar Skelessi. But by it Russia gave up the chance of becoming a Mediterranean power, although the ports of the Black Sea were protected from naval attack by any Power except Turkey. It is probable that the opening of the Straits would have beggared Great Britain owing to her great naval power.

D. General.

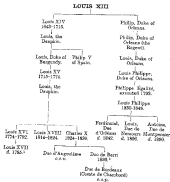
A close agreement had been formed between Great Britain and Russia; the Eastern and Western Powers were again united, and the principle of the Concert of Europe had been reaffirmed; Great Britain had won the gratitude of the Sultan.

But unfortunately the agreement between Great Britain and Russia did not last very long and the Straits Act did not prevent the British and French fleets from entering the Black Sea in 1854.

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- Modern Europe* (Alton, Phillips), Livingston, chap. x.
Cambridge Modern History, Vol. X, chap. xviii.
A History of Modern Europe (Pyke), Cassell, pp. 422-472.

THE BOURBONS



¹ See *Notes on European History*, Vol. III, page 377.
² Page 40.

THE ORLEANS MONARCHY, 1830-1840

I. The Accession of Louis Philippe.

August 7th, 1830. Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, was proclaimed King of France by 319 votes to 33 in the Chamber which had declared the throne vacant.

A. The Citizen King.

(1) The *Douzevirs*.

The election was the work of the *Douzevirs*—Quinze-Pierres, Guizot, Braghe—who formed themselves into a constituent body to establish the new regime. They had opposed Charles X because, particularly under Polignac,¹ his government had become despotic, but they supported the principle of monarchy and wished to work with Louis Philippe to procure "the constitutional developments which the Charter² required."

a. The Sovereignty of the People.

The position of Louis Philippe was weakened by the conditions of his election. Guizot declared that the King derived his right from the people, and Louis Philippe acknowledged that he was "King of the French by the grace of God and the good will of the Nation."

A. The Charter.

The King swore to observe a modified Charter, which was regarded not as granted by

¹ Page 48.

² *Notes on European History*, Vol. III, page 332.

the King as in 1834, but as the gift of the nation which the King accepted. The King's right to issue "ordinances for the safeguarding of the state" was abolished; he could issue ordinances for the execution of laws, but could not suspend laws; the right of initiating legislation was conferred on the Chamber, to which ministers were to be responsible. The Charter declared that the Catholic religion was not the religion of France but "the religion professed by the majority of the French." It abolished the Government censorship of the press; re-established the National Guard; promised to reform the electorate, to reorganise municipal and central administration.

The minimum age for election to the Chamber was lowered from forty to thirty years; the voting qualification was to be the payment of two hundred, instead of three hundred, francs as annual taxation. The peerage was made no longer hereditary but for life.

a. Practical results.

The political influence of the clergy was extinguished and the Government became secular. The "July Revolution" was a victory for Liberal *Vulgarism* over the Legitimist clergy.

3) The Chamber of Deputies.

The power of the Chamber of Peers was greatly weakened owing to the loss of its hereditary privileges and the absence of many of the peers who refused to take the oath of allegiance to Louis Philippe. The Chamber of Deputies became very powerful, and the struggle of parties in this Chamber became a very important question. The Revolution of 1830 proved a triumph for the middle class, who supported

the Orleans monarchy, which they regarded as "the best possible Republic."

(i) The Charter.

But the terms of the Charter were imperfectly carried out; the "firm and lasting liberty" at which Guizot had aimed was not fully established; the danger from the republicans and revolutionary party led to repressive measures.

(ii) The National Guard.

All taxpayers who could pay for their own uniform formed the National Guard which was reorganised in 1831 to maintain the Charter. As the defender of the Government this middle-class force played an important part in politics.

(3) Louis Philippe.

Louis Philippe acknowledged the sovereignty of the people and played the part of "the Citizen King." The fact that he had fought for the Revolution at Jemappes added to his popularity. He mixed freely with the people of Paris; wore the top-hat and frock-coat of the prosperous bourgeois; sent his sons to the national schools and entered them as privates in the National Guard; held his court, not at the Tuileries, but at the Palais Royal, where "anti-royalistic handshakings" were accepted as proof of his democratic sympathy.

But Louis Philippe was a Bourbon and devoted to his dynasty; he was superior in ability and tact to his predecessors, and succeeded later in establishing some measure of personal rule disguised under constitutional forms; he might have become a national king, but "he preferred to identify the State with himself rather than himself with the State."¹ Of

¹ *Alphonse Philippe*.

necessity his domestic policy became to some extent reactionary "because the principles on which he had accepted the throne were untenable."

B. Some difficult problems.

(1) The Legitimists.

The Legitimists, who from their support of Charles X were now called *Orléanists*, nicknamed Louis Philippe "the King of the Barricades" and made fun of his democratic pretensions. To enhance the monarchy they posed as the champions of liberty of the press and universal suffrage; they hoped to stir up a counter-revolution. The suppression of the hereditary peerage weakened their cause.

(2) The Republicans.

The overthrow of Charles X had been actually accomplished by the Paris mob. It seemed to strengthen the Republicans who appealed to the memories of the Revolution, particularly of the Convention¹; wished to support any people who rose against their kings; were violently anti-clerical; desired to overthrow the Orléans monarchy. They were composed mainly of students and working men organised in secret societies such as the "Friends of the People," the "Society of the Rights of Man." The Parisians demanded the execution of Polignac and the three other ministers who had signed the recent ordinances.

(3) Communism.

Economic grievances were causing serious discontent among the working classes. The struggle between Capital and Labour had begun and, although the teaching of St. Simon and Fourier had little influence among workmen, the failure of the Government to improve their position contributed to the growth of Socialism.

¹ *See on European History, Vol. III, page 232.*

(4) The Powers.

The acceptance of the French throne involved the obligation to maintain the treaties of 1815. Louis Philippe was therefore compelled to check the desire of the Parliament to embark on a revolutionary crusade which would have broken the treaties and provoked the vengeance of the Powers.

Nicholas I strongly disapproved of the July Revolution, and Russia, Prussia and Austria had agreed not to recognise Louis Philippe. But Austria had in the possession of the Duke of Reichstadt, son of Napoleon I and Maria Louise, a powerful weapon which would curb French aggression, and Prussia was anxious for peace; both of them soon recognised Louis Philippe, and Nicholas I followed their example on January 8th, 1831.

The friendly understanding which Talleyrand's skilful diplomacy established with Great Britain, the only other Liberal Power, greatly strengthened the position of Louis Philippe.

(5) General.

The position was difficult. At home a Government which had proclaimed the sovereignty of the people was compelled to check the development of democracy, and Louis Philippe was "at one and the same time the choice of a Revolution and the instrument of reaction against that Revolution."

Abroad Louis Philippe had to avert the hostility of suspicious Powers whose policy was imperilled by the revolutionary zeal of his own people and who resented the July Revolution to which he owed his throne.

II. The Government from 1830 to 1840

A. The Duc de Broglie, August-November, 1830.

(1) Divisions in the Government.

The Government, of which Broglie was President, consisted of two distinct parties. The *Party of Action*,

including Lafayette and Lafr  re, had Republican sympathies and favoured foreign intervention on behalf of people against their rulers; the Party of *R  sistance*, including Guizot and Broglio and Casimir-P  rier, wished to establish the rule of the middle class, to check the Republicans, to establish a good understanding between France and the Powers. Louis Philippe's real sympathies were with the latter, but for the moment the influence exerted by the former, and especially Lafayette, in the National Guard made them indispensable.

(2) Resignation of Broglio and Guizot.

October 18th and 19th, 1830. Riots in Paris. The mob entered the Palais Royal, went to Vincennes and demanded that Polignac and his colleagues should be executed, called on Louis Philippe to support the Belgians against Holland.¹

Resignation of Broglio and Guizot because the King refused to adopt a system of repression which would have led to an open breach between the monarchy and the democracy.

B. Lafayette, November 2nd, 1830–March 9th, 1831.

The Party of Action, which had strong sympathies with the Parisians, now took office.

(3) Domestic Policy.²

3. The Resignation of Lafayette.

December 10th, 1830. The Charles X were condemned to imprisonment by the Court of Peers. Lafayette increased his popularity by using the National Guard to check the mob which attacked the Peers and capturing some of the ringleaders.

December 13rd, 1830. In consequence the ministers felt strong enough to weaken the

¹ *Revue* 1st.

² Page 193.

authority of Lafayette, who was suspected of supporting the Republican movement, which had been stimulated by the news of the Polish rising.¹ Lafayette resented their action and resigned his post as commander of the National Guard.

b. Reforms.

1831. The Ministry lowered the electoral qualification.

c. Further Disorder.

The feeling in favour of French intervention on behalf of the insurgents in Belgium and Poland led to further disorder, particularly on February 14th, 1831, when the mob sacked the Church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois. The Legitimists severely urged them on in the hope of discrediting the Orleans Monarchy.

(2) Foreign Policy.

Louis Philippe determined to maintain peace, and relied upon the alliance with Great Britain.

a. Belgium.

January, 1831. He agreed with Palmerston to recognise the neutrality of Belgium.

February 17th, 1831. He refused to allow the Duc de Nemours to accept the crown of Belgium.

b. Poland.

Louis Philippe refused to help the Poles against Nicholas I, whose final recognition of the Orleans Monarchy on January 8th, 1831, was partly due to his difficulties in Poland.

c. Italy.

Louis Philippe insisted on a policy of neutrality in Italy.

d. Turkey.

Louis Philippe conceded from Laflotte the fact that the French ambassador had offered to the Sultan a defensive and offensive alliance against Austria and Russia.

(2) General.

March 9th, 1831. Resignation of Laflotte, partly because Louis Philippe refused to intervene in Belgium, partly because he had not received prompt information of the action of the ambassador at Constantinople. The prospect of war had alarmed the middle classes and led to a commercial crisis in Paris which ruined Laflotte.

The personal efforts of the King had averted war; the Republican party had been weakened by the resignations of Lafayette and Laflotte; the National Guard had supported the monarchy.

C. Coudré-Périer, March 15th, 1831-October 11th, 1832.

The *Party of Resistance*, composed of Liberal-minded Conservatives and led by Coudré-Périer, now took office. It was essentially middle-class, definitely antagonistic to the Republicans at home and abroad, anxious to maintain the constitutional monarchy in France. "France," said Coudré-Périer, "has wished royalty to be paternal; she has not wished it to be impotent." The King removed from the Palais Royal to the Tuileries.

(1) The Suppression of Disorder.

In 1830 Louis Philippe had prevented Bragha from violently repressing the Republicans. He probably felt that the monarchy was strong enough to adopt a firmer policy. Coudré-Périer declared that "France is to be governed" and that he "intended to be obdurate," and carried a law forbidding armed assemblies.

a. The Republicans (and Communists).

April, 1833. Sixteen leading Republicans were tried for attempting to overthrow the monarchy. They were acquitted, but strong measures were taken against Republican newspapers and societies.

November, 1831. An industrial rising in Lyons was suppressed.

June 24, 1832. A serious Republican rising due partly to recent repressive measures, and assisted by Polish, Italian and German refugees, broke out at the funeral of General Lamarque. The insurgents seized the East of Paris, but were crushed by the National Guard and an army of 25,000 soldiers after very severe street fighting. The Polytechnic School was dissolved owing to the active part taken by the students in the rising.

b. The Legitimists.¹

February, 1832. Failure of a Legitimist plot to carry off the Royal family.

June-November, 1832. Failure of the attempt of the Duchesse de Berri, mother of the Duc de Bordeaux, whom the Legitimists called Henry V, to stir up rebellion in La Vendée.

c. The Bonapartists.

July 22nd, 1832. The death of the Duke of Reichstadt at Vienna deprived the Bonapartist party of its head.

(2) Foreign Policy.

Casimir-Périer knew that if France intervened abroad she would have to face the hostility of the Eastern Powers and would weaken the British alliance.

¹ Or Carlists.

He succeeded in preventing France from intervening on behalf of foreign rebels. The recognition of the neutrality and independence of Belgium in October, 1831,¹ the refusal of help to Poland, the maintenance of neutrality in Italy, formed part of his policy, although he occupied Ancona with French troops on February 22nd, 1832, when Pope Gregory XVI called Austrian troops to his aid.

(2) The Death of Casimir-Périer.

May 18th, 1832. Casimir-Périer died of cholera.

He had served the Orleans Monarchy well both at home and abroad, but his peace policy in Europe and his repressive policy at home made the Ministry unpopular. Louis Philippe resented the great power secured by Casimir-Périer, who had "firmly established his authority over the Chamber, and the power of the Chamber over the sovereign and the country." For four months he refused to fill vacant offices by appointing Docteurs, and kept the Presidency of the Council in his own hands.

II. South, October, 1832-February, 1833.

October 11th, 1832. Marshal South became President of the Council, Broglie Minister of Foreign Affairs, Galignani Minister of Public Education, and Thiers Minister of the Interior.

(1) Repression.

The Angers Expedition² concluded those who favoured French intervention and enabled the Government to suppress disorder at home. The Duchesse de Berry had been captured and imprisoned in November, 1832; she gave birth to a daughter, who was regarded as illegitimate; the consequent rillégitimé practically ruined the Legitimist party.

¹ Page 125.

² See Day.

a. Riots.

But Republican secret societies continued; the hardships of the working class promoted the spread of Communism and serious disorders took place.

April, 1834. Rising of the workmen of Lyons (whose street fighting continued for several days), St. Etienne and Grenoble.

April 12th-14th, 1834. The arrest of the leading members of the "Society of the Rights of Man" was followed by a Republican rising in Paris. Owing to the arrest of the leaders, the rising was easily suppressed in the "Mansuete of the Rue Transnonain."

July 28th, 1835. Failure of Fieschi's attempt to kill the King and his sons by an infernal machine, which killed fourteen people and injured many more in Paris.

b. Repression.

The suppression of the riots and popular feeling against acts of violence strengthened the Ministry, which adopted strong measures against Republicans. The elections of May, 1834, increased the anti-Republican majority in the Chamber.

1834. Laws were passed against sedition, crime, the keeping of firearms in private houses, and associations.

May 6th, 1835. Trial by the Chamber of Peers of 144 Republicans, who were condemned after a long trial by a Court whose validity they denied.

September, 1835. The stringent "Laws of September." The Peers imposed heavy penalties for attacking the established government and the principle of private property, forbade the publication of libel cases, and established strict censorship over drinkings.

The condemnation of political offenders was facilitated by allowing sentence to be pronounced in the absence of the accused and reducing the number of jurors necessary for a conviction.

These laws greatly weakened the Republican party, who had lost an influential leader when Lafayette died in 1834.

(2) Foreign Policy.

The people of France still hankered after military glory and, although the Bonapartists were weak, the Bonapartist tradition remained. Louis Philippe opened the Arc de Triomphe and made Versailles a military museum. Bugele now desired to use Great Britain to maintain the influence of France in the East and to check, if necessary by arms, the power of Russia.

Louis Philippe, who was determined to keep peace, desired to maintain French interests by establishing an understanding with Austria, and was resolved "not to let Bugele go too far."

February 4th, 1834. Resignation of Bugele and fall of the Ministry.

(3) Parliamentary Parties.

Louis Philippe strongly resented the growing arrogance of the *Doctrinaires*.

a. The Third Party.

Opposition to repressive measures led to the formation of the Third Party, who were the champions of constitutional liberty, and whom the King tried to use, in November 1834, to break the Ministry; the utter failure of their "Three Days' Ministry" discredited the party.

b. Split in the *Doctrinaires*.

Thiers desired to break the understanding with Great Britain, and had tried, in May

1836, to secure French intervention on behalf of Queen Isabella in Spain, where Palmerston was skilfully using internal dissension to promote British interests. Peel and Guizot had incurred his displeasure by refusing to support him. The *Doutrinaires* majority was now split into two parties, the Right Centre under Guizot and the Left Centre under Thiers.

"Revolutionary passion seemed to have died away; and the triumphs or reverses of party leaders in the Chamber of Deputies succeeded to the harassing and doubtful conflict between Government and insurrection."¹

E. Thiers, February, 1836-September, 1836.

February 22nd, 1836. The King made Thiers President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Thiers favoured the limitation of the Royal power and held that the King was bound to choose his ministers in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the Chamber, and to leave them free to govern. Louis Philippe, in spite of the conditions of his election, wished to govern through his ministers and claimed the right of directing foreign policy.

Thiers now took measures to intervene in Spain and determined "to annihilate Don Carlos." The King strongly objected and insisted that the army Thiers had collected for an invasion of Spain should be disbanded.

September 9th, 1836. Resignation of Thiers.

F. Molé's First Ministry, September, 1836-April, 1837.

"The resignation of Thiers, who had not been defeated in the Chamber, showed that the King was at variance with his constitutional ministers," the prince of the bishops." The *Doutrinaires* had tried to make the King

their instrument: the King, who knew that the success of recent governments at home and abroad was largely due to him, now got rid of the men "who had dethroned Charles X for his benefit."

An attempt to establish a *Doctrinaire* Ministry with Count Molé, a personal friend of the King, as President of the Council lasted from September 6th, 1836, to April 15th, 1837.

This Ministry incurred much unpopularity by proposing to make a large allowance to the King's children, the Duke of Orléans and Nemours and the Queen of the Belgians.

March, 1837. Guizot and his friends, who had shown considerable hostility to Molé, left the Ministry.

G. Molé's Second Ministry, April, 1837-March, 1839.

April 15th, 1837. Molé, although supported only by a minority in the Chamber of Deputies, was again made President of the Council by Louis Philippe. He received the strong support of the King and the elections of October, 1837, gave him a majority.

(1) Domestic Policy.

Molé abandoned the policy of "resistance," the traditional policy of the *Doctrinaires*, and tried to reconcile the old opponents of the monarchy.

a. The Republicans and Legitimists.

The Republicans were now changing their tactics: "in opposition to the middle-class society established under the first Empire, they brought forward heretofore, instead of plots and surprises, the steady force of an ideal of social and political improvement." Republicanism was becoming a social movement and its *div* programme was strongly supported by Lamartine, whose book *De l'Homme*, written in 1833, made a great impression.

The Legitimists now, largely owing to the influence of Lamennais, showed a disposition to accept the " July Monarchy " and to support measures of social reform.

May, 1837. Following the marriage of the Duc d'Orléans to Hélène of Mecklenburg, Molé issued an amnesty for political offences and thus conciliated the Republicans.

b. The Catholics.

Molé conciliated the Catholics by opening the Church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois and, in May, 1837, replacing the crosses in the Palais de Justice. Many of the clergy now abandoned their Legitimist position.

c. Prosperity.

Partly owing to the internal peace which resulted from Molé's conciliatory measures the country prospered. Railways, bridges, canals and harbours were constructed, a national debt of nearly a thousand million francs was discharged and business flourished. The grant of a fixed revenue to Orléans and the Queen of the Belgians and the majority Molé obtained in the elections of October, 1837, testified to the popularity he had deservedly gained.

(3) Foreign Policy.

Molé cordially co-operated with Louis Philippe in his attempt to maintain peace abroad.

a. Spain.

By abstaining from intervention Molé checked Palmerston's schemes in Spain.

b. Belgium.

May 19th, 1839. The final settlement of Belgium was due largely to French diplomacy.¹

¹ Page 146.

c. Italy.

September, 1859. Metternich withdrew the Austrian troops from the Legations, and the French occupation of Ancona, having served its purpose, was terminated in October.

d. Greece.

The support given by France to the new King, Otto of Bavaria, helped him to settle the country.

e. General.

French diplomacy had materially assisted to maintain peace and to give an opportunity for free national development.

(2) Algeria.

The conquest of Algeria, begun in 1830, was opposed in France by those who thought that all the power of France should be used for extension to the Rhine, and resented by Great Britain, who thought that her supremacy in the Mediterranean would be weakened by the establishment of the French in Algeria. Thiers and Guizot had adopted a policy of "limited expansion," but the victory of Abd-el-Kader at Macta, June 24th, 1835, led Thiers to attempt to conquer the whole country. Moli surrendered part of Algeria to Abd-el-Kader by the Treaty of the Tafna (June 1st, 1837); the capture of Constantine on October 12th, 1837, gained for France an important province which was so firmly consolidated by wise administration that when Abd-el-Kader again rose in 1839 the French were able to maintain their position.

III. Political Crisis, January, 1839, to October, 1840.

A. Causes of Discontent.

(1) The Constitutional Power of the Chambers.

Supporters of the constitutional power of the Chambers resented the appointment of a President

of the Council who was not supported by a majority of the Chamber of Deputies and had replaced Thiers who, although opposed to the King, had not been defeated in the Chamber.

(2) The King's position.

The active part the King took in the government, and particularly in foreign policy, aroused strong criticism; the Beld Ministry was regarded as a ministry of the King's friends, and was accused of having made "unconditional surrender to the dictates of the Crown"; strong complaints were made of "court policy" and "personal government." In his *Principles of Representative Government*, published in 1838, Haussmann advocated the "substitution of parliamentary government for personal government," and demanded that Parliament should have "the last word."

(3) Desire for war.

The desire of the French for military glory had not been appeased by the conquests in Algeria or the erection of the Arc de Triomphe. The Napoleonic legend still exercised great influence, and the victory of Navarino aroused a desire that France should give further proof of her strength.

B. The Coalition.

(1) Formation of the Coalition.

A Coalition was formed of the Right Centre, who as *Dominicans* and supporters of "Résistance" resisted recent concessions to the Republicans; the Left, who objected to the conciliatory attitude Mait had adopted towards the Catholics; and the Left Centre. Common opposition to the peaceful policy of the King which, it was held, had lowered the dignity of France, was the bond that united the Coalition.

(5) The Fall of Molé.

February 2nd, 1830. Owing to the violent attacks of the Coalition, Molé persuaded the King to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies.

March, 1830. In the new elections the Coalition secured a considerable majority.

March 8th, 1830. Consequent resignation of Molé.

(3) Danger to the Monarchy.

The Coalition, nominally formed against Molé, was really an attack on the King for his foreign policy and his unconstitutional government at home. The defeat of Molé was the defeat of the Orleans Ministry. Circumstances enabled Louis Philippe to re-establish his position for a time, but Lamartine asserted that the crisis of 1830 was the prelude to the Revolution of 1848.

C. Soult, May, 1830-February, 1840.

The lack of union among the successful opponents of Molé made it impossible for them to form a united ministry, and from March 8th to May 14th, 1830, there was an *interregnum*.

May 12th, 1830. Armed rising in Paris of artisans, members of the secret society of the "Sons of St. George," against the monarchy and middle-class rule. The middle class, terrified by the rising, again turned to the King.

May 14th, 1830. Soult formed a ministry.

France now supported the cause of Mehmet Ali,¹ and Louis Philippe and Soult adopted an attitude of hostility to Russia, perhaps in the hope of strengthening French influence in the East and in gratifying national pride.

February, 1840. The Chambers refused to grant a grant to the *Dou de Nemours* and Soult resigned.

D. Thiers, March, 1840-October, 1840.

March 1st, 1840. Thiers became President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

(1) France and Europe.

Thiers wished to give strong support to Mémetast AL.¹ Popular feeling in France regarded Mémetast AL as a "kind of Liberal Bonaparte," who was carrying on the work Napoleon had started in Egypt. Foreign politics were complicated by strong hatred of Great Britain, due partly to tradition, partly to resentment caused by Palmerston's aggressive policy.

(2) Danger of European War.

July 15th, 1840. The Treaty between Great Britain, Austria, Prussia and Russia,² from which France was excluded, aroused strong resentment as a slur on "national honour." Thiers advocated war; new armies were raised, the fleet was strengthened, Paris was fortified; a movement towards the Rhine against Prussia seemed imminent.

(3) Louis Philippe again maintains peace.

But Louis Philippe remained true to his pacific policy and realised that a war against Europe would ruin France. He refused "to unchain the tiger," or to read to the Chamber a warlike speech Thiers had prepared.

October, 1840. Thiers resigned.

[August to October, 1840. Failure of Louis Napoleon's attempt to seize the crown. He was shipwrecked in the Port of Ham.]

IV. General.

The Orleans Monarchy had successfully averted the danger from Legitimists, Bonapartists and Republicans.

Louis Philippe had not only maintained the monarchy but, by the influence he established over his ministers,

¹ Page 188.

² *Ibid.*

had secured for the Crown more power than was consistent with the constitutional government established by the modified Charter of 1830.

Louis Philippe had rendered great service to Europe as well as France by pursuing a foreign policy which was "firm without aggressiveness, pacific without feebleness," in spite of the strong desire for military glory which inspired the people, and which some ministers, notably Thiers, were anxious to gratify.

The extension of commerce and the public works undertaken by the Molé Ministry had promoted prosperity: the revenue showed small annual deficits, but the general wealth of the nation greatly increased. Some measure of popular government was granted to the municipal councils in 1831 and district councils in 1838. The penal code was mitigated in 1832 by the abolition of branding and the admission of the plea of "extenuating circumstances." In 1833 Guizot established a system of primary education supported by contributions from communes, departments and the national government.

The failure of the monarchy to deal adequately with the urgent need of social reform among the industrial classes and the persistence of the Napoleonic tradition were destined to bring trouble on the Orleans King who, in spite of real services to France, failed to appeal to the imagination of his subjects. The fundamental weakness of the Orleans Monarchy lay in the fact that Louis Philippe was King not "of the French," but of the middle class.

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THE GUIZOT MINISTRY OCTOBER, 1840--FEBRUARY, 1848

October 29th, 1840. Soult again became President of the Council, but the real head of the Ministry was Guizot, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Ministry represented the capitalist middle class, for only men who paid five hundred francs in taxes were eligible for membership of the Chamber of Deputies, and the franchise was limited to citizens paying two hundred.

I. Foreign Policy.

A. The *Entente Cordiale*.

Guizot was anxious to maintain the *entente cordiale* with Great Britain and to keep peace in Europe. To attain his ends he adopted a policy which was denounced by Thiers and the Left Centre as subservient to Great Britain and contrary to the interests and dignity of France.

(1) The Eastern Question.¹

July 13th, 1841. France joined the other four Powers and signed the Straits Act.

(2) The Right of Search.

1838. France and Great Britain had made a convention establishing reciprocal right of search; the British cruisers used for the purpose were not to be more than half as many again as the French.

1841. Aberdeen and Guizot agreed that Austria, Prussia and Russia should share the convention, and that the limitation on the number of British cruisers should be dropped.

1842. The Chamber felt that the superiority of the British fleet would give Great Britain an undue advantage and refused to ratify the agreement.

¹ Page 184.

(3) L'Affaire Pritchard, 1844.

September 14, 1842. Admiral Dupetit-Thouvenin made a treaty with Pomare, Queen of Tahiti, which made that island a French dependency.

March, 1844. Dupetit-Thouvenin landed, Tahiti and expelled the British Consul Pritchard, who had advised Pomare to resist the French.

Following strong protests from Great Britain, Guizot disavowed the annexation and compensated Pritchard. Although Guizot was right in refusing to allow the "Tahiti stipulations" to impair the alliance with Great Britain, his action was resented in France as a sacrifice of national honour.

(4) Morocco and Algiers.

April 14th, 1844. General Bugeaud defeated at Isly the Emperor of Morocco, who had supported Abd-el-Kader. Juvénat soon afterwards captured Mogador.

France, who was engaged in fighting Abd-el-Kader, did not attempt to conquer Morocco. Her forbearance gratified Great Britain, who, partly in acknowledgment, formally recognised the French establishment in Algiers. Others strongly protested against all these arrangements as a slight on the national honour.

[1847. 'Submission of Abd-el-Kader, who was imprisoned in France.]

(5) Madagascar, 1845.

June, 1845. Joint Franco-British expedition to Madagascar.

(6) Royal Visits.

1843, 1845. Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort visited Louis Philippe at the Chateau d'Eu.

1844. Louis Philippe came to Windsor.

1845. Louis Philippe.

3. The Breaking of the *Entente Cordiale*.

Both Guizot and Peel's Conservative Ministry (September 1841, December 1843, June 1846) were anxious to maintain friendship between France and Great Britain. The *Entente* was broken by the question of the Spanish Marriage.

(1) Queen Isabella II.

November 10th, 1843. Queen Isabella was declared of age, and the question of the marriage of the Queen and her sister, Maria Louisa, was of great importance.

The Agreement of 1843.

Louis Philippe was anxious to marry his son, the Duc de Montpensier, to Maria Louisa. Great Britain reasserted the principles of the Peace of Utrecht, which forbade the union of the French and Spanish crowns,¹ but was willing to agree to the proposed marriage provided it did not lead to the establishment of Montpensier as King of Spain.

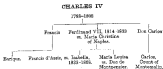
Great Britain and France objected to the proposed marriage of Queen Isabella to the Count of Montemolin, son of Don Carlos, which would have united all claims to the Spanish throne.

1845. Negotiations at the Château d'Eu between Guizot and Aberdeen and the two sovereigns led to an agreement.

- a. Great Britain would agree to the marriage of Isabella to any Bourbon descendant of Philip V and would not support any other candidate.
- b. Louis Philippe agreed that Montpensier should not marry Maria Louisa until Queen Isabella was married and had children to succeed to the Spanish throne.

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. II, page 262.

(2) The Sisters of Isabella.



a. Don Francis d'Assis.

Of the five Bourbon candidates available Louis Philippe, who was anxious to secure the throne of Spain for Montpensier, favoured Isabella's cousin, Francis d'Assis, Duke of Cadix, a man of infamous character who was unlikely to have any children. Queen Isabella shrank from marrying Francis.

A. Leopold of Saxe-Coburg.

The candidature of Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, a cousin of the Prince Consort, was injudiciously supported by Salazar, the British ambassador at Madrid; Palmerston, who had become Foreign Secretary in July, 1846, did not support Leopold, but mentioned his name in a letter to Salazar. Guizot then incorrectly accused Palmerston of breaking the agreement of 1835 by supporting a Coburg.

a. Don Enrique.

Palmerston favoured Don Enrique, brother of Don Francis, the candidate of the English Liberals.

(c) *The Marriage of Isabella, 1846.*

Queen Christina, irritated by Palmerston's protests against the action of the Spanish Ministry, now sided with Louis Philippe and compelled Isabella to marry Don Francis.

October 10th, 1846. Queen Isabella married Don Francis and Montpensier married Maria Louise.

The Spanish Marriages were a violation of solemn promises Louis Philippe and Guizot had made to Queen Victoria and her ministers; the conditions were particularly dishonourable to Guizot and the King, whose hasty action was partly due to the intense mistrust they felt for Palmerston.

Great Britain regarded them as an insult to her national pride and they led to the immediate rupture of the entente cordiale, which Louis Philippe sacrificed to dynastic ambition, and to the isolation of France. Isabella was so angry with France that she supported the Liberals, and British influence again became supreme at Madrid.

II. *Switzerland.*A. *France and Austria.*

Guizot and Louis Philippe having lost the friendship of Great Britain now tried to win the friendship of Austria and thus to re-establish the position of France as one of the members of the European Concert.

Metternich had taken advantage of the rupture between France and Great Britain to annex Geneva in 1840, and Guizot and Palmerston had protested in vain.

B. *The Sonderbund.*(1) *Formation of the Sonderbund.*

1845. Seven Catholic cantons, led by Lucerne, adopted, owing to the influence of the Jesuits, a conservative and oligarchical policy and formed the

Sonderbund, or Swiss Union, to secure independence of the Liberal-Federal party. They claimed that the Treaty of Vienna, 1815, which guaranteed the independence of each canton, justified their action. Their opponents resented the attempt to weaken the unity of Switzerland by forming a "League within a League."

(3) The Powers.

Austria, the champion of Conservatism, Prussia and France supported the Sonderbund, but while Metternich wished to intervene by force, Galignani urged that peaceful pressure alone should be employed, and at the end of 1846 refused Metternich's suggestion that the representatives of the Great Powers should withdraw from Switzerland as a protest against the attempt of the Swiss Diet to coalesce the Sonderbund.

3) War.

July 30th, 1847. The Diet, by the necessary majority, voted that the Sonderbund should be dissolved.

November 4th, 1847. The Diet declared war on the Sonderbund, which appealed to the Powers under the Treaty of Vienna.

November 24th, 1847. The Federals captured Lucerne.

(4) Palmerston's Diplomacy.

Galignani proposed that a European conference should be held to consider intervention; Palmerston, while not formally rejecting the proposal, urged the Federal General Diet to finish the war as soon as possible, and delayed negotiations by suggesting another policy.

November 26th, 1847. Palmerston agreed to the terms of a joint note from the Powers, but Delessand followed his advice and the war was then over.

Louis Philippe and Galignani, in alliance with Austria, had supported the cause of reaction in Switzerland.

The success of the Swiss Liberals encouraged the Republicans in Paris.

III. Domestic Problems.

A. The Government.

Guizot held office for eight years and always had a majority in the Chamber of Deputies. The support of about two hundred notables had been secured by the gift of official appointments or railway concessions. Louis Philippe imposed his own policy on Guizot; against the King the Chamber "ceased to possess a will of its own."

The well-to-do middle class, the *petit bourgeois*, who alone had the right of voting, supported the Government but took little interest in politics and had no particular desire for military glory, desisted revolution and were engaged in making the most of the opportunities of increasing their private fortunes, which were afforded by the development of railways. They desired peace at home and abroad and nothing more.

The point of view of the Government was essentially middle class, and it failed to appreciate the growing demand for electoral and industrial reform. Secure in its majority the party of the *petit bourgeois* adopted a policy of inaction. "A voice past," said Lamartine in 1842, could "carry out this policy." "What," asked a deputy in 1847, "have they done in seven years? Nothing, nothing, nothing." France was divided into two factions, the Government and the Nation, and the Nation, said Lamartine, "was bored."

B. Opposition in the Chamber.

The Opposition in the Chamber consisted of three parties.

(1) The Left Centre.

The Left Centre, led by Thiers, advocated a spirited foreign policy, objected to the extent

and protested against the action of Guizot in *l'affaire Prichard* and the question of the right of secret. Thiers wished to secure office, supported the monarchy, had no real desire to alter the political system, and up to 1845 gave little support to the movement for Reform.

(3) The Dynamic Left.

The Dynamic Left, led by Odilon Barrot, favoured democratic monarchy and urged the extension of the franchise.

(4) The Radical Left.

Arago was the leader of this small group which favoured a republic.

The Legitimists counted for little. Ledru-Rollin was the only Socialist member.

C. Reform.

(1) General.

The Opposition, which had had little influence on the foreign policy of the Government, found a more powerful weapon in the growing movement for Parliamentary and Electoral Reform.

a. Parliamentary Reform.

The attempt to secure Parliamentary Reform by preventing deputies from holding salaried offices or receiving other lucrative appointments proved a failure. Although Dufaure and Guizot, two former ministers, were convicted in 1847 of flagrant corruption, a complacent majority of deputies declared themselves satisfied with the explanations of the Ministry. It proved impossible to expel the *fonctionnaires* who made the Chamber almost "an assembly of the King's ministers."

1. Electoral Reform.

The qualification for membership of the Chamber was an annual payment of five hundred francs in taxes, for the franchise an annual payment of two hundred. Practically the Chamber became "a club of capitalists," and only about 300,000 French citizens had a parliamentary vote. Guizot resolutely opposed any change in the franchise and urged those who sought it to "work and grow rich and you will become voters." Louis Philippe feared that he would be unable to carry out his own policy if the Chamber became more democratic. The moderate Republicans, largely owing to the influence of *Le National*, made electoral reform the first point in their programme; the extreme Republicans, disaffected with the moderate tone of *Le National*, founded in 1843 *Le Reforme*, which favoured violent measures and kept in touch with the secret societies.

The Socialists demanded universal suffrage as a means of social reform, and the doctrine of the organization of labour was preached by Lamartine and Ledru-Rollin in fiery speeches and a multitude of pamphlets.

The cause of Reform received a measure of support from some Catholics who found it impossible, particularly in May, 1847, to secure from the Chamber the liberty of education which Guizot had led them to expect.

The death by accident on July 13th, 1848, of Louis Philippe's eldest son, the popular Duc d'Orléans, who sympathized with the reformers, made the ultimate crisis more certain.

(2) The Development of the Reform Movement.

a. The Dynastic Left, 1840-1848.

Oscar Reuter and the Dynastic Left in

manded that the qualification for voters should be lowered to one hundred francs and that votes should be given to certain classes of jurors, graduates, municipal councillors.

[The Radical Left demanded that all members of the National Guard should be allowed to vote. Ledru-Rollin advocated universal suffrage.]

A. Thiers supports Reform.

December 26th, 1848. Thiers, who had established an understanding with the Whigs in England, now joined Odilon Barrot and the moderate Republicans of the Dynastic Left. He agreed to support their proposals for Reform and to try to limit the personal power of the King.

The reactionary policy of the Ministry at home and the corruption of the Government had aroused deep discontent; the foreign policy of Louis Philippe had ended by provoking the hostility of England; the success of the Liberals in Switzerland and the growing influence of Mazzini in Italy encouraged the Republicans; Coercution was spreading rapidly among the lower classes, who were profoundly affected by Louis Blanc's advocacy of Socialism. Thiers aggravated the general discontent as a means of displacing Guizot and compelling the King to give him office.

c. The Reform Banquets.

As Louis Philippe and Guizot, relying on their mechanical majority in the Chamber, resolutely opposed Reform, Odilon Barrot appealed to the public by banquets at which the principles of Reform were explained. The scope of the banquets became more advanced; the

royal court was omitted at a banquet held in Paris in July, 1847; universal suffrage was demanded at Marseilles; at Chartres a speaker urged that "government by the people for the people" should be established.

December 25th, 1847. In his speech from the throne Louis Philippe denounced the banquetists as "agitators which foment blind and hostile passions."

February 22nd, 1848. A final banquet, which all the Opposition deputies promised to attend, was arranged and *Le National* proposed to organise a procession to the banquet hall. The Government forbade the banquet; *Le National* cancelled the procession. But a crowd assembled on the Place de la Concorde on February 22nd and the next day the mob attacked the Foreign Office, where Guizot lived.

The demand for Reform led to the Revolution of 1848.

References :

- Modern Europe* (Alison Phillips), Livingston, pp. 254-272.
Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XI, chap. II.
Modern France (Bourgeois), Cambridge University Press.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1848

I. The Middle Class.

February 22nd, 1848. The crowded meeting on the Place de la Concorde was a protest against the Ministry and Guizot, and not a demonstration in favour of universal suffrage. There was some disorder, and barricades were erected.

February 23rd, 1848. Appearance of an armed mob shouting *Vive la Réforme ! à bas Guizot !*. The National Guard, hitherto the faithful supporters of the Orleans

Ministry, showed strong sympathy with the rioters, and in some places protected them from the soldiers.

Guizot resigned in the afternoon. Malt failed to form a new Government of Guizot's ministers.

February 24th, 1848. Early in the morning Thiers and Odilon Barrot accepted Louis Philippe's invitation to form a Ministry, on condition that the Chamber should be dissolved and a new one elected on a wider franchise. But the appointment of General Bugeaud as Minister of War showed that the King contemplated armed resistance to further outbreaks.

Reform had been gained; the Parliamentary Opposition and the middle class of Paris were satisfied.

II. Revolution.

A. The Rising of the Mob.

February 23rd, 1848. Late at night the mob attacked the Foreign Office, where Guizot was living; they were driven away by the soldiers.

February 24th, 1848. The bodies of the slain were carried in carts through Paris, the mob rose and erected 3000 barricades and seized the centre of Paris; the movement was directed by Louis Blanc and other Socialists, supported by *Le National* and *Le Reforme*. The editors of the latter posted bills: "Louis Philippe massacred us as Charles X did: let him follow Charles X."

Largely owing to hatred and fear of Bugeaud the movement, which Odilon Barrot failed to quell, became revolutionary, and cries of *Vive la République!* were heard for the first time. But the people no longer shouted for "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity," and they cried little for the Reform which the middle class had won.

† The Revolution of 1848 was more social than political.

B. February 24th, 1848.

(1) Abdication of Louis Philippe.

10 a.m. Bugeaud, finding that many of his soldiers

sympathized with the mob, and that he could not regain the boulevard, withdrew to the Place du Carrousel, leaving the Municipal and National Guards to maintain the King's name. The revolutionaries seized the Palais Royal.

1 a.m. Louis Philippe, finding that he could no longer rely on the National Guard, abdicated in favour of his grandson, the Comte de Paris, a boy of ten, and left Paris for England.

(2) The Assembly.

The mob seized the Tuilleries. The Duchess d'Orléans sought from the Chamber the recognition of her son as King, and a majority actually proclaimed him, but "the conquerors of the Tuilleries, students, Republican citizens and Socialist workmen" invaded the Assembly, compelled it to depose the Orléans family and nominate a Provisional Government, including Lamartine, Arago and Ledru-Rollin, whose names had been suggested by *Le National*. The Assembly did not actually proclaim a republic.

(3) The Hôtel de Ville.

A meeting of leaders of the mob and the editors of *Le Réformateur* was held at the Hôtel de Ville in the afternoon, and there was danger of opposition between the elected Assembly, which was now meeting at the Corps Législatif, and the leaders of the Paris mob at the Hôtel de Ville. The former desired by a political revolution to set up a democratic republic under the tricolor. The latter wished to establish under the red flag a social republic which should promote the interests of the working classes.

(4) The Formation of the Provisional Government.

Largely owing to the diplomacy of Lamartine the two parties united to form a Provisional Government at the Hôtel de Ville. Marrast, Louis Blanc and Albert were added as secretaries to the members of

the Assembly, which included Lemaître, Arago, Gervier-Pagès and others. The names of the latter had been suggested by *Le National*, the former by *La Reforme*. Ledru-Rollin had been suggested by both. "This revolution in Paris marks the very zenith of the direct political influence of newspapers."¹

The Republic was proclaimed on February 24th, and a Constituent Assembly elected by universal suffrage was to meet on March 5th. The Chamber of Deputies was dissolved.

The February Revolution not only changed the government of France but strengthened the demand for constitutional government and a Federal State in Germany. It was one of the causes of the revolts in Vienna² and Berlin.³

III. The Provisional Government.

Conflict was inevitable between the Social Republicans, who asserted the "Right to Labour" and wished to make war on Kings, and the Democratic⁴ Republicans, who wished to maintain order in Paris and to establish peaceful relations with the Powers.

A. Socialist measures.

The Democratic Republicans had a majority in the Provisional Government, but the Socialists held the chief executive offices; they were strengthened by the eligibility of all citizens for the National Guard and by the growth of Communist clubs; they were supported by the Paris mob. They compelled Lemaître to yield to their wishes, but he succeeded in averting the substitution of the red flag for the tricolor.

(1) The Right to Labour.

Louis Blanc's followers declared "we will work and live or we will fight and die."

¹ *Europe in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 289. Grant and Temperley, *Europe*, p. 277. Page 244.

² Page 218.

³ Or Parliamentary.

February 27th, 1848. Lamartine accepted the *Charte* of the "Right to Labour," and the Government undertook to find work for all citizens.

February 27th, 1848. The Government established National Workshops in the hope that this concession would diminish the danger of revolution and in order to make provision for workmen who had lost their jobs owing to the injury done to industry by the Revolution.

(3) The Luxembourg Committee.

February 28th, 1848. A mob demanded the establishment of a Ministry of Labour and Progress. The Government appointed the Luxembourg Committee which, under the presidency of Louis Blanc and Albert, decreed the reduction of hours of labour. The opposition of employers prevented the decree from being carried out, and the separation of Blanc and Albert from their colleagues weakened the influence of the Socialists at the Hôtel de Ville.

(5) The Date of Elections.

The Socialists feared that the middle class would secure a majority if the elections were held on April 24th, and demanded that the elections should be postponed. They were incensed at a protest, "the Demonstration of Beardslee Cane," recently made by the middle class against the suppression of the picked companies of the National Guard.

March 17th, 1848. A Socialist mob went to the Hôtel de Ville and secured the postponement of the elections to April 23rd.

B. The Socialists checked.

April 18th, 1848. A mob presented a petition at the Hôtel de Ville for the abolition "of the exploitation of one man by another and for the organisation of labour by legislation."

Léon-Rolin, himself wavering between the two parties, turned against the Socialists and called to arms the newly formed gangs made of paid volunteers, who dispersed the mob and shouted "Down with the Communists."

The Government for the first time had successfully resisted and checked the Socialists.

IV. The Constituent Assembly, May, 1848, to May, 1849.

A. The Election and Constitution of the Assembly.

(1) The Election.

The Constituent Assembly was elected by direct and universal suffrage; every Frenchman above twenty-one had a vote, every Frenchman over twenty-five was eligible for election. French democracy thus secured political equality.

(2) The Members.

Out of 600 members very few were Socialists, only three out of twenty-four Socialist candidates were elected in Paris; 120 were Legitimists; about 100 had previously been Royalists; the majority were moderate Republicans who approved of the substitution of democratic government for government by the middle class, but were opposed to Socialism. The hostility of the Socialists, embittered by their failure at the polls and the possibility of a union between the Legitimists and Royalists in support of a monarchy, constituted a real danger to the Republican party.

(3) The Executive Commission.

May 4th, 1848. The Constituent Assembly met.

May 5th, 1848. The Provisional Government resigned and the Assembly elected an Executive Commission of five members—Arago, Garnier-Pagès, Marie, Lamartine and Léon-Rolin. No Socialists were elected; Léon-Rolin, who had Socialistic

hearings, would have been rejected by the Moderate Republicans but for the personal intervention of Lamartine. The Assembly refused Louis Blanc's demand for the election of a Ministry of Labour and Progress.

The authority of the Executive was weakened by the early division of the Assembly into three parties: the Moderates, who met under the presidency of Dupont de l'Eure at the Palais National; the Reform Party led by Ledru-Rollin; the Royalists, or " honest Republicans," who met under Berryer in the Rue de Poitiers.

B. The Overthrow of the Socialists.

The Socialists, further irritated by their exclusion from the Executive, attempted to set up a Social Reform Government by force.

1) The Rising of May 1848.

May 18th, 1848. A mob of workmen and students protested against the recent suppression of the Polish revolt by Prussian troops, invaded the Assembly, pronounced its dissolution "in the name of the people," and proclaimed a Socialist Government, including Louis Blanc, Barbès, and Blanqui, at the Hôtel de Ville. The National Guard put down the mob and suppressed the Socialist Government; Barbès and Blanqui were imprisoned; Louis Blanc went into exile.

(2) The "Four Days of June." June 22nd-26th, 1848.

a. The abolition of the National Workshops.

The number of men employed in the "National Workshops" at two francs a day had increased from 6000 in March to 125,000 in May. They were not employed in workshops, but in "purposeless diggings and re-fillings on the Champs de Mars." The pay was

soon refused to work more a day, but the useless experiment cost the state seven million francs, and the imposition of a supplementary tax of forty-five centimes to meet the cost added to the general discontent; it attracted many undesirable people from the provinces to Paris; it impoverished the tradesmen and led to difficulties between employers and their employes.

June 22d, 1848. The Government, encouraged by the suppression of the rising of May 15th, abolished the National Workshops, ordered that workmen under twenty-five should enlist in the army and that the older men should be sent to construct embankments in the provinces.

b. The Four Days.

June 23d, 1848. The workmen, equal in number to several army corps, rose and created barricades in the east of Paris.

June 24th, 1848. The Assembly made General Cavaignac military dictator and thus declared open war on the Socialists. He had 20,000 regular soldiers, the National Guard, who were soon reinforced from the provinces, and the garde mobile. A pitched battle took place in Paris.

June 26th, 1848. The troops captured the Hotel de Ville and the Place de la Bastille, the centre of the revolt; accidental death of Archbishop Affre while trying to make peace. The last barricade in the Faubourg St. Antoine was stormed on June 26th. Cavaignac's military discipline and artillery gave him a hard-fought victory; the rioters lost 10,000 killed and wounded and 6000 prisoners were carried to Algeria.

"This conflict left behind it a feeling of hatred between the Republic and the people that nothing could efface." But many were ready to welcome any Government which could protect property and maintain peace, and the Assembly, "freed from the incubus of the Red Terror," prepared to draw up a new constitution. But the Bonapartists, who may have been partly responsible for the rising, prepared to take advantage of the bitter feeling it caused.

C. The Constitution.

The constitution was based on the idea that the Sovereign People was the source of political power and that a balance must be established between the Legislature and the Executive.

(1) General Principles.

The Constituent Assembly declared that "France is constituted a Republic. The French Republic is democratic. Its principles are Liberty, Equality, Fraternity; its foundations, the family, rights of property, public order."

(2) The Legislature.

The Legislature was to be a single Chamber of 750 delegates elected by universal suffrage for four years. The suggestion that a Second Chamber should be established was rejected, partly because it was thought that such an institution was aristocratic and unnecessary, partly because some feared that the President might strengthen his position by playing off one Chamber against another. The concept of the Assembly was necessary for its dissolution or prerogative. The Assembly was to elect a Council of State to prepare bills.

(5) The President.

The Assembly rejected a proposal that the President should be elected by and responsible to the Chamber. The President, the head of the Executive, was to be elected for four years by universal suffrage independently of the Chamber. At the end of his term of office he was not eligible for re-election for four years. He was to appoint his own Ministers: he was to be tried by a special Court of Justice if he violated the constitution.

(4) General.

The constitution was an attempt to effect a balance between the Executive and Legislature, both of which were elected by the people but neither of which could control the other. The creation of two practically co-ordinate authorities would, in case of a quarrel between the President and Chamber, ensure the victory of the former, who controlled the army, and lead to a dictatorship.

October 31st, 1848. The Assembly finally approved of the new constitution.

V. Louis Napoleon, Prince President, December, 1848.

A. Cavaignac.

After the "four days of June" Cavaignac, at the request of the Assembly, continued to exercise the supreme power. He was a Republican and determined to maintain order. He decried the opposition of the Socialists and the reactionary party, whom he vainly attempted to conciliate by organising an expedition at Toulon to help Pius IX against the Roman insurgents.

B. Republican Division.

The divisions between Republicans became wider and led to reactionary measures contrary to Republican principles. Louis Bonin tried to form an alliance with

the defeated Socialists. The Republicans, led by Cavaignac, through fear of the supporters of the Church and Monarchy, drove Carnot from office because he advocated a scheme for popular elementary education. Thiers and Montalembert seized the opportunity to carry reactionary measures limiting the power of the press and the right of political association.

The Bonapartist party gained strength and was supported by some Royalists.

C. Louis Napoleon.

Louis Napoleon, the son of Louis, King of Holland, and Hortense de Beauharnais, was the nephew of Napoleon I. The death of his elder brother and, in 1806, his cousin, the Duke of Reichstadt,¹ made him the head of his family. He regarded himself as the heir to Napoleon's throne. His attempts to stir up Bonapartist risings at Strasbourg in 1836 and Boulogne in 1840 had failed, and the latter was followed by his imprisonment at Ham for six years. On June 14th, 1846, he had been returned as deputy by four constituencies but refused to act. On September 17th, 1846, he was elected for five departments; an attempt to exclude him from the Assembly failed and he took his seat as the defender of order and the champion of democracy. He became the leader of the opponents of the divided Republicans.

D. Causes leading to the election of the Prince President.

During Louis Napoleon's absence in England the Bonapartists had secured the assistance of the real-contents of all parties.

(1) The Napoleonic Tradition.

The Napoleonic tradition of successful military operations for the glory of France had been strengthened by the interregnum of Napoleon I's remains in the

¹ Page 187.

Invalides on December 10th, 1848, by the picture of Napoleon given in Thiers' *History of the Consulate and Empire* and by Béranger's lyrics.

(2) *Weakness of the Republicans.*

The divisions of the Republicans, jealousy and fear of Cavaignac, and Cavaignac's failure to secure his own position assisted Louis Napoleon's cause.

(3) *Democratic Republicans.*

Some Democrats favoured Napoleon in the hope that he would both assert liberal principles and adopt a vigorous foreign policy.

(4) *Orléanists.*

Thiers, and other Orléanists, supported a man whose ability they despised in the hope that his failure would facilitate an Orléanist Restoration.

(5) *Socialists.*

The Socialists remembered that Louis Napoleon had written a pamphlet on "The Extinction of Poverty," and helped him against the Republicans who had slaughtered their comrades in the "four days of June."

(6) *Peasants and soldiers.*

The name of Napoleon I appealed strongly to peasants and soldiers and won their support for his nephew.

K. The Election, December, 1848.

Louis Napoleon became a candidate for the Presidency, believing that France regards the name I bear as one that may serve to consolidate society, which is shattered to its foundations." The hope that he would prove strong enough to maintain order gained him many votes.

December 10th, 1848. Election of Louis Napoleon as President. He received 5,400,000 votes, Cavaignac

1,400,000; Ledra-Rolla 370,000. He swore "to remain faithful to the democratic Republic and to defend the Constitution."

F. The end of the Constituent Assembly.

The last few months of the Constituent Assembly showed that the President was determined to keep down the Socialists, to break with the Republicans, to unite with the Conservatives and to repress disorder. His policy soon caused discord between himself and the Assembly.

(1) The Ministry.

The President chose his Ministry not from the Republican majority, but from Liberal Catholics and Catholics. Odilon Barrot became Premier, Drouyn de Lohas Minister of Foreign Affairs, Farcy Finance Minister, and all of these had held office under Louis Philippe. Falloux, a Legitimist, was made Minister of Education, and Caubet, a Bonapartist, Prefect of Police.

(2) The Catholic Church.

a. In France.

Falloux made an attempt, frustrated by the Republican majority, to strengthen the influence of the Church over elementary and secondary schools.

A. Pius IX.

Partly to consolidate Catholic opinion in France, partly to check the power of Austria in Italy, General Oudinot was sent with an army corps to help Pope Pius IX against the Roman rebels.

April 30th, 1849. Oudinot was defeated outside Rome.

The action of the Government in interfering,

loyalty to the constitution, in quarrels between a monarch and his subjects infuriated the Republicans, and Ledru-Rollin successfully moved the impeachment of the President for violating the constitution.

But the Chamber approved of the help given to Pius IX; the desire to assert "the honour of the country and the army" by avenging Oudinot's defeat was very general. The President made a skilful use of his opportunity to secure victory for the Conservative party at the elections in May, 1849.

(3) Anti-Republican Measures.

Local Prefects, acting under Cailher's instructions, cut down trees of Liberty, which had been planted in honour of the establishment of the Republic, and forbade men to wear Phrygian Caps, the emblem of Republicanism.

May 1849, 1849. Dissolution of the Constituent Assembly.

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THE SECOND REPUBLIC

MAY, 1849—DECEMBER 2ND, 1852

I. The Legislative Assembly

A. *Le Parti d'Ordre*.

A new united Conservative party, *le parti d'ordre*, had been formed of men of different views. It included Orleanists like Thiers, men who favoured middle-class

like the Barres ; Bonapartists ; Legitimists like Fialoux and Catheline like Montalembert. They were determined to "save society" by crushing the Socialists, and were willing to support the Roman Catholic Church in return for its help.

B. Constitution of the Assembly.

In the Legislative Assembly of 750 members the Conservatives had 350 representatives. Moderate Republicans numbered only 170, and neither Lamartine, Dupont de l'Eure, nor Garnier Pages secured seats. The strength of the opposition was provided by the *Montainis*, who numbered 180; they had been organized by means of banquets by Ledru-Rollin, who had united the extreme Republicans and Socialists in the hope of maintaining a Republic and carrying out social reform.

C. The President.

The President, like the Conservatives, was the champion of order and was opposed to the Republic, which he had sworn to maintain, and to Socialism. But he did not identify himself with the Conservatives because he knew that such a policy would weaken his influence with the army and the peasants, nor did he at first reveal his real hostility to moderate Republicanism. Sovereign in the control of the Executive and the army, he tried to "persuade the world that the social and political order was bound up in his person." He gradually formed a personal party; he made a skillful use of the mistakes made by the Conservatives, and by a combination of unscrupulous diplomacy and vigorous measures secured the Imperial Crown.

II. The Defeat of the *Montainis*.

A struggle soon broke out between the Conservatives and the *Montainis*.

A. The Church.

The Conservatives used their position to strengthen the Church.

(1) Pius IX.

July 3rd, 1848. Cossiet stormed Rome and restored Pius IX.

August 18th, 1849. The President published the instructions he had sent to Noy to demand that the Pope should grant an amnesty to his defeated opponents and establish a Liberal regime. The Assembly refused to approve of the proposed limitations on the Pope's authority.

(2) Education.

January 2nd, 1850. The Conservatives just failed to prevent the passage of Fauriol's Bill, which placed teachers under the control of the local prefect.

March 18th, 1850. Falloux' Act greatly strengthened the power of the Church over education.

- a. All properly qualified Frenchmen of the age of twenty-one could open a school; no qualification was required for teaching in an elementary school and no degree for teaching in a secondary school belonging to the Church.

This was a blow at lay teachers, whom the Conservatives regarded as "the regimental officers of the democratic and social Republic."

- b. The Church was represented by four Archbishops on the governing body of the University of Paris; by a bishop and priest in provincial academic councils; the right of inspecting local elementary schools was given to the bishops.
- c. Communes which lent their schools to Catholic teachers were exempted from contributing to their cost.

The President and his Government agreed to Falloux' Act partly because opposition would have provoked the Catholics and thus assisted the cause of the Monarchs.

B. The Abolition of Universal Suffrage, May, 1850.

(1) Repression.

June 13th, 1849. The failure of Ledra-Baller's rising, which was a protest against the violation of the constitution by the attempt to suppress Liberalism in Italy, led to severe measures of repression. Political meetings were prohibited, newspapers compelled to pay \$1,000 fines as security, and Republican teachers were dismissed.

(2) Growth of Republicanism.

These measures and the new educational policy aroused great resentment. The President, who on October 31st, 1849, had appointed "ministers devoted to his own plans," was suspected of aiming at a dictatorship. In the elections of March, 1850, the Republicans, who had united into one party in face of the common danger, gained ground.

(3) Abolition of Universal Suffrage.

May 31st, 1850. The Assembly, in order further to weaken the Republicans, "a vile multitude," as Thiers called them, raised the period of residence necessary for the franchise from six months to three years, required all voters to be enrolled on the list of taxpayers, and took away the right of voting from all who had been members of secret societies and all who had been convicted of rebellion or resistance to authority.

Three out of ten million voters, including many soldiers and peasants, were disfranchised by the Assembly.

To protect society against the danger of Republican propaganda further repressive measures were taken against the press and the right of meeting. To wear a red tie or to cry *Vive la République!* became punishable offences.

The Assembly had "committed political suicide" by limiting the sovereignty of the people. The growing Bonapartist party was strengthened by the support of many who felt that the Assembly was incompetent and that only Louis Napoleon could give the strong government that France needed. During the years from August to October, 1850, the President increased his personal power by making excursions into the provinces and by holding military reviews. He was greeted in some places with the cry of *Vive l'Empereur!*

III. The Struggle between the President and the Assembly.

The Bonapartists were now reinforced by some of the extreme Conservatives, but, through fear of a revival of the Empire, the Orléanists under Thiers and the Legitimists offered strong opposition to the President. Thus the Assembly was now split into three parties: the Bonapartists, the Orléanists and Legitimists, and the Republicans.

A. The Ministry of January, 1851.

A vote of censure was passed by the Assembly on the Ministry for the dismissal in January, 1851, of the Legitimist General Changarnier who had refused to support the President.

January 27th, 1851. The Ministry resigned on the adverse vote of the Assembly, but the President appointed an emergency Ministry without reference to the Assembly.

From January, 1851, "the question was not whether the Empire would come into being, but how, by legislative means or force."

B. The Increase of the President's Salary.

The President had small private means; he was anxious to make provision for his natural children; considerable expenses had to be met out of his salary.

February, 1863. A coalition of his opponents, who viewed with alarm the increasing power of the President, rejected a proposal to increase his salary.

C. The Orléanist Princes.

A combination of Bonapartists and Legitimists rejected a proposal that the Orléanist Princes should be allowed to return to France.

D. The Revision of the Constitution.

The President was ineligible for re-election after four years' tenure of office, but was very anxious to continue in office and to induce the Assembly to make the necessary revision of the constitution. Eighty out of eighty-five Provincial Councils demanded revision and, largely owing to the efforts of Government officials, a petition in favour of revision was signed by a million people.

Some of the Royalists now began to support the President, but the Orléanists and Republicans united against them and prevented the Ministry from securing the three-fourths majority necessary for a revision of the constitution.

July 18th, 1864. The voting was: for Revision, 316 votes; against, 378.

E. The Electoral Law.

November, 1861. The Assembly rejected by a majority of seven the demand for the repeal of the Electoral Law of May 31st, 1850, made by the President who held as the champion of universal suffrage against the Assembly.

F. The "Proposition of the Quakers."

The Monarchist party, through the Quakers, whose special duty it was to guard the Assembly, presented a proposition which gave the President of the Assembly the right to surround troops to defend it.

November 18th, 1851. The Republicans, fearing a Monarchist *coup d'état*, joined with the Bonapartists to reject the proposition.

G. General.

The struggle between the President and the Assembly had gone in favour of the former. By loyally passing the Electoral Bill of May 31st, 1850, and subsequently refusing to repeal it, and by rejecting the proposal for revising the constitution, the Assembly had become the opponent of the action, which looked to the President to champion its rights. The rejection of the Proposition of the Quakers prevented the Assembly from defending itself against the President, who had strengthened by personal influence the authority which, as head of the Executive, he exercised over the army.

IV. The Coup d'État of December, 1851.

A. The position of the President.

The President had formed a new Ministry in October, 1851, of men who were devoted to his interests. *St. Armand*, brought from Algeria to support the President, was Minister of War; *Mauges* became Minister of Police. In November the Ministry, ably assisted by the President's unscrupulous agents, his half-brother *Honnay*, who soon became Minister of the Interior, *Perigny* and *Fligny*, prepared for action. *Magnan*, the commander of the troops in Paris, joined the plot; a Bonapartist replaced the Republican *Perret* in the command of the *National Guard*.

B. The *Coup d'État*, December 2nd, 1851.

The *Coup d'État* took place on December 2nd, 1851, the anniversary of Austria's and Napoleon I's coronation.

(1) Arrests.

On the instructions of Napoleon the seventy-eight leading opponents of the revision of the constitution were arrested. These included men of all parties:—Bodreau, Changarnier, Cavaignac; Thiers; the Republicans Chélat and Lagrange. Troops seized the Palais Bourbon where the Assembly met.

(2) Proclamations.

Troops compelled the printers in the Government printing offices to print proclamations which—

- a. Declared the Assembly dissolved;
- b. Restored universal suffrage;
- c. Proclaimed a plebiscite to decide the question of the revision of the constitution;
- d. Appealed to the army to support the sovereignty of the people.

The President declared that he was determined "to maintain the Republic . . . by invoking the judgment of the only sovereign I recognise in France—the people." Thus the *coup d'État* was an appeal by the Executive to the People against the Legislature.

C. Opposition.

(1) The Assembly and High Court.

December 2nd, 1851. About two hundred deputies, mostly Monarchists, met in the Mairie of the 16th Arrondissement; declared that in accordance with the constitution the President was deposed for disloyalty; the Assembly; that his authority reverted to the Assembly; that he was amenable to the High Co

The deputies were arrested and imprisoned and the High Court suppressed by military force.

(2) The Rising of December 3rd, 1861.

December 3rd and 4th. A rising, promoted by Republicans like Victor Hugo and Favre, took place in the Faubourg St. Antoine. It was easily and ruthlessly suppressed by St. Arnaud.

The President exaggerated the danger of the rising, in Paris and in the provinces; proclaimed martial law in thirty-two départements; appointed retired commissioners (consisting of a prefect, a general and a lawyer) to try those implicated; assumed the right of deporting members of secret societies. Over 26,000 people were tried, of whom 20,000 were convicted; 1800 were transported to Algeria or Cayenne. Eighty Republicans, including sixty-six Montagnards, were beheaded. The Republican party was shattered.

D. The Périodic.

Local prefects, instructed by Morny, manipulated the elections and formed "electoral committees composed of honest men."

December 21st, 1861. By 7,500,000 votes to 440,000 France empowered the President to draw up a new constitution. The Assembly was defeated, the Republicans crushed, the nation abdicated its sovereignty and the President became the absolute ruler of France by the will of the people, who were tired of ineffective party strife, afraid of popular risings and willing to give the power of maintaining peace and order to the only man who could exercise it.

E. General.

(1) Popular approval.

The people of France strongly approved of electing M. Napoleon as President, and his election

majority was only increased and not created by *Morrey's* manipulation. But he "never won the great towns to his side," although the country districts were generally loyal to him.

(2) *A sordid Conspiracy.*

Napoleon used "the methods of midnight conspiracy" to overthrow a system he had sworn to defend, and secured his object by ruthless cruelty.

(3) *How far justified.*

The system Napoleon overthrew was unworkable and could not afford the security against "the red peril" for which France craved. Although Napoleon sincerely desired to promote the best interests of France, "the possession of personal power was the first necessity for the realization of his aims both personal and public . . . and the past of France does not encourage us to think that a regime which satisfied neither the desire for glory nor for liberty, nor for freedom of thought, could last long."¹

V. The Personal Rule of the President, January-December, 1852.

A. The Constitution of January, 1852.

January 14th, 1852. The President proclaimed on his own authority a new constitution, which, he declared, was "calculated to secure the requisite liberties and the maintenance of Napoleonic principles."

(1) *The President.*

The President was to hold office for ten years and to exercise all the executive power. The power of appointing and dismissing ministers rested with him alone.

(2) *The Council of State.*

The Council of State was nominated by the President to legislate laws.

¹ *Quincy and Tempelley.*

(3) The Senate.

The President nominated and fixed the salaries of the members of the Senate, which was to act as "guardian of the fundamental compact and of public liberties." It could issue *Senatus-consulta* on questions about which the constitution was vague.

(4) The Legislative Assembly.

The Legislative Assembly of 351 members was elected by universal suffrage, but the President nominated official candidates, and in February, 1852, Republicans were deprived of the suffrage. The Assembly could not initiate legislation; had to pass Government bills without modification; could not address the President. Its sole power was to vote the annual budget, but the power of appropriation the supplies it voted rested with the President.

(5) General.

The new constitution was an absolute dictatorship disguised as constitutional government based on the sovereignty of the people. The President "had grasped all the nation's powers," "the whole public apparatus was at his disposal."

B. The Role of the President.

(1) Repression.

February 17th, 1852. The President deprived the press of any freedom and made it the instrument of his Government. The University staffs were purged and professors like Michelet and Guizot, who disapproved of the new order, were dismissed.

(2) The Napoleonic Tradition.

The President restored the Napoleonic eagles to the French standards, secured the fidelity of the army by presents to the soldiers, and took up his residence in the Tuilleries. On a provincial tour he was received

with cries of *Vive l'Empereur!* and at Bordeaux he declared that "the Empire means peace." He ordered the Senate to consider the question of restoring the Empire.

C. The Restoration of the Empire.

November 2nd, 1852. The Senate passed a *Sénatus-consultum* declaring Louis Napoleon Emperor of the French.

November 21st-22nd, 1852. A *plébiscite* was held; 1,800,000 people voted for the Empire, 322,000 against it.

December 2nd, 1852. Louis Napoleon was proclaimed Emperor. He took the title of Napoleon III in accordance with the Imperial tradition which recognized the Duke of Reichstadt as Napoleon II although he had never been crowned.

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FRANCE UNDER THE SECOND EMPIRE DECEMBER, 1852—SEPTEMBER, 1870

NAPOLEON III

Napoleon III was forty-four years old when he became Emperor. His character puzzled his contemporaries; he was described as an " *esprit subtil* "; " a bird of prey "; Thiers said later that the French made two mistakes about Napoleon III, " the first when they took him for a fool, the second, when they took him for a man of genius."

He was ambitious and *opportunistic*. He was *glorious* in his opinions, but his *cautious indulgence* led to *overestimation*: he

had been a Carbonaro in his early days, and his early association with secret societies "never ceased to hamper him." "He was a Socialist in possession of absolute power, but he had to co-exist with the established dynasties which hated socialism."¹

He believed that his mission was to carry out the Napoleonic tradition, which "was based on the principles of nationality, of universal suffrage, and of himself, as the incarnation of the Revolution."² He wished by military success to justify the desire of the French for glory, to follow in his uncle's footsteps and win for his family the enthusiastic support of France. He therefore adopted a vigorous foreign policy which profoundly affected Europe and reacted on the internal history of France.

He honestly thought that the interests of his family coincided with those of France, and his position was strengthened by the belief of the middle classes that he alone stood between France and civilisation. He asserted that he aimed at reconstructing France, reconciling order with liberty and popular rights with authority. He attempted, with some measure of success, to promote the material prosperity of France and to improve the position of the working classes. But, while professing to support the cause of liberty, he thought that liberty must be the *opium* and not the foundation of his regime.

I. THE AUTOCRATIC EMPIRE DECEMBER, 1852—NOVEMBER, 1860

I. Personal Absolutism.

The proclamation of the Empire on December 2nd, 1852, was not a revolution. The Constitution of January 14th, 1852, had made the President an absolute ruler; the *Senatus-consultum* of November 2nd merely acknowledged Napoleon III's "free and unfettered authority," and asserted that he governed "by means of the Ministers, the Council of State, the Senate, and the Legislative Body."

The authority of Napoleon III depended largely on

¹ Lodge.

² Adam Phillips.

the army, and his hold on the army was greatly strengthened by the Conscription Law of 1833, which allowed men to purchase exemption from conscription. The purchase money was used by the Government to hire substitutes, and thus a professional army entirely devoted to the Government came into existence.

A. Government.

(1) Central Government.

The Senate and Legislative Body had little real power¹; the Emperor controlled the Executive and exercised strong influence on the Judiciary and the Legislature. The Central Government was exercised by ten Ministers of State who swore obedience to the Emperor who appointed them, and were excluded from the Legislature which had no power of controlling their actions.

(2) Local Government.

Prefects of Departments were appointed by and responsible to the Emperor alone. Each Prefect was "a sort of miniature Emperor." He appointed elementary teachers and municipal officers; he had certain powers of local legislation and could dissolve municipal councils.

Mayors of all towns, and after 1833 Deputy Mayors, were appointed by the Emperor. Municipal councils existed, but were practically powerless.

Thus government was highly centralized, and the Ministers, Prefects, Mayors and Deputies were imperial agents who executed the will of the Emperor throughout France. "No individual, no transaction escaped the watchful eye of the supreme authority."²

(3) Elections.

The Emperor's power actually depended on the will of the people expressed by universal suffrage in

¹ Page 262.

² Cambridge Modern History.

the form of a plébiscite. But the Government alone could proclaim a plébiscite and word the terms of reference. Elections were everywhere manipulated in the Emperor's interests.

a. Official Candidates.

The Government put forward official candidates. Their election addresses, the cost of which was defrayed by the Government, were printed on official paper; all public officials were compelled to support them.

b. Constituencies.

The boundaries of constituencies were altered by the Government in the interests of their candidates before General Elections.

c. Mayors.

The Commune was the voting area. Voting lasted two days; at the end of the first the Mayor, the agent of the Government, who directed the election, took the ballot box home; he often recorded a vote for persons who had not voted themselves.

B. Repression.

(1) The Press.

No Journal Press Censorship was established, and the *Orléanais Journal des Débat*, the *Legitimist Gazette de France*, and even the *Republican Soleil* were allowed to appear as well as the Government journals *Le Constitutionnel* and *La Patrie*. But the Minister of the Interior could warn, suppress or suspend newspapers at his pleasure.

a. Censorship money.

The stamp duty and the censorship money which newspapers had to pay were levied. The latter amounted to 50,000 francs.

b. Warnings.

"Warnings" were issued to offending journals, which were suppressed on a third "warning." A journal was warned for stating that a speech of the Emperor had been well received "according to the Havas Press Agency," on the ground that "this doubtful expression is unstable in the presence of the wild enthusiasms which the Emperor's words excited"; another was warned for discussing public matters, because the discussion might "excite discontent among a certain class of citizens." Maspes issued ninety-one "warnings" in sixteen months.

c. Staff.

The Minister of the Interior could appoint and discharge editors.

d. Press offences.

Press offences were summarily dealt with in a police court without trial by jury.

(2) The University of Paris.

Professors were compelled, on pain of dismissal, to take an oath of allegiance to the Government. The Professorships of History and Philosophy were suppressed. Professors were required to show their monstrosities, which were denounced as "the last vestiges of anarchy."

(3) The Liberty of the Subject.

The liberty of the subject was unduly restricted by the police who, by means of an army of spies, tried to repress any criticism of the Government. An actor who "entertained" of bad service in a Parisian café was arrested for saying, "This is like Sebastopol; one can't take anything."

After Ordon's attempt to assassinate the Emperor,

in 1855, the General Security Act was passed. This empowered the Government to exile or imprison without trial people who had already been convicted of criminal offences.

C. General.

Under the absolute, highly-centralised despotism of Napoleon III political life almost came to an end. The Republicans were broken; from 1852 to 1857 they had no deputies, and from 1857 to 1863 only the famous "Five" elected by Paris and Lyons. The middle classes, thankful that order was maintained, devoted themselves to business and acquiesced in the policy of the Government. Opposition to the Government could find expression only in the foreign newspapers which were smuggled into the country.

II. Material Progress.

Napoleon III hoped that by promoting general prosperity he would attach the middle classes more firmly to his cause, and his Government did much to promote trade. He thought that the large demand for labour involved in new public works would conciliate the working classes.

A. Finance.

1853. Re-establishment of the *Crédit foncier*, which assisted landowners by giving mortgages on equitable terms.

1857. Re-establishment of the *Crédit mobilier*, a joint stock bank formed to finance great commercial undertakings.

1858. The operations of the Bank of France were extended by authority to lend money on securities.

B. Railways and Telegraphs.

1851-1858. The length of French railways increased from 3,335 to 13,307 kilometres. The postal and telegraphic services were greatly extended.

C. Trade and Manufactures.

Manufactures developed owing to greater facilities for securing capital, to improvements in the Patent and Bankruptcy Laws, and to improved communications. But the great demand for labour in towns drew labourers from the country, and agriculture, in spite of some developments, made less progress than manufactures.

D. The Working Classes.

The Government was not content with increasing the demand for labour by public works. Measures were taken to restrict the price of bread; parastatope were regulated; 10,000,000 francs of the money produced by the sale of the Orleans estates were used for workmen's dwellings; boards of arbitration between masters and men were established and Friendly Societies were encouraged.

E. Paris.

(1) Baron Haussman.

Haussman, Prefect of the Seine, transformed Paris from 1854 by building the great boulevards and clearing away many of the narrow streets which had been easy to barricade. Paris was completely changed, and the destruction of many of the old streets in the Faubourg St. Antoine diminished the danger which a rising always caused in this quarter. The working classes tended to migrate to the outskirts and "the central districts developed into a city of trade, luxury and pleasure."¹

(2) The Court.

Splendid entertainments were frequently arranged at Court, partly owing to the belief that social gatherings were good for trade; partly to conciliate the Bourgeois; partly owing to the extravagant tastes of

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*.

the Empress, Donna-Eugenia di Montijo, the widow of a Spanish general, whom Napoleon married on January 30th, 1833. The example of the Court led to considerable extravagance on the part of the middle classes who had been enriched by commerce, and a demand arose for entertainments of a somewhat frivolous type.

3) Exhibitions.

1835. The first Exhibition attracted many visitors to Paris.

F. The Provinces.

At Marseilles the docks were completed and a cathedral and important public buildings erected. The port of Havre was enlarged and new buildings erected in Lyons, Lille and other places.

III. Foreign Policy to 1850.

The grave danger of revolution in Europe led even the reactionary powers to acquiesce, although with great reluctance on the part of Russia, in the establishment of Napoleon III, who posed as the "saviour of Society."

A. Napoleon favoured peace.

He declared in 1838 that "the Empire means peace" ; he desired to establish a European Confederation with which France would peacefully co-operate to defend liberty and national autonomy.

B. But took part in the Crimean War.

"The desire of France for military glory ; the belief that, through war, she would extend French territory, strengthen French prestige and establish his family firmly on the throne ; the influence of the Napoleonic tradition ; - the wish to repopulate the Clerical and Catholic party and

personal differences with Nicholas I, led Napoleon to go to war with Russia.

The Crimean War strengthened Napoleon's position by the glory it gave to his government. Napoleon, elated by his success, now began to think of asserting the "Napoleonic idea" of helping nations to secure freedom. He had induced Aberdeen to make peace by a threat of extending the scope of the Crimean War into a vindication of the rights of oppressed nationalities. The Union of Moldavia and Wallachia in 1858, due largely to Napoleon's support, promoted the establishment of Roumanian nationality.

C. Napoleon and Italy.

Napoleon's sympathy with the cause of Italian liberty and nationality was quickened by Orsini's bomb.¹ He supported Sardinia against Austria, although he did not favour the establishment of a strong Italian monarchy on the South-East of France.

But the Ultramontane party in France strongly objected to the limitation of the power or territory of the Pope which the establishment of a United Kingdom of Italy would involve.

The influence of these two opposing forces added to Napoleon's difficulties and made his Italian policy inconsistent.

D. Syria and Mexico.

The expedition to Syria in 1860, which set up a Christian government in the Lebanon, and the Mexican expedition,² were due partly to Napoleon's desire to consolidate the Clerical party.

IV. Growth of Opposition in France.

Up to 1867 the Government had to face only the weak opposition of the Liberals. The Republicans were

¹ Page 195.

² Page 225.

Isabelin; the Monarchists, who included the Orléanists, and the Legitimists, who favoured the restoration of the Bourbons Orléans de Chantouat,¹ were weak; the Catholics generally supported the Emperor. The middle classes approved of the "man of order" and devoted all their energies to making money. From 1857 the boom of opposition grew stronger.

A. The Roman Catholics.

(1) Support.

Napoleon III endeavoured to conciliate the Catholics by making grants for education, favouring the clergy, sending representatives of the Government to Church functions. Catholic schools, and particularly girls' schools, made great progress owing to the law of 1850.² A section of the Catholics, led by Montalembert, favoured legislative reform and tended towards a modified Liberalism, but the Ultramontane party and the moderate Catholics, whose views were expressed in the *Univers*, supported Napoleon. The Crimean War broke out because the Emperor wished to secure the continued help of Catholics at home and to satisfy the national desire for military glory.

(2) Opposition.

The Italian War³ marked the beginning of new developments both at home and abroad. It alienated the Catholics and led all to unite against the Emperor's Italian policy. A vigorous press campaign was started and in 1860 petitions in favour of the temporal power of the Pope were strongly supported by Catholics in both the Senate and the Legislature. The loss of their support compelled Napoleon to conciliate the Liberals.

¹ *Ann. of the Duc de Berry*, page 158.

² Page 223.

³ Page 432.

B. The Republicans.

1837. The election of the "Five" again gave the Republicans some representation in the Chamber. But they were too weak to exercise any influence, although Emile Ollivier, one of the Republican deputies for Paris, strongly opposed the Public Safety Law of 1838.

C. The Merchant Class.

Napoleon was a Free Trader; he was anxious to secure the support of Great Britain in his Italian policy and hoped that, although the merchants of France favoured Protection, the commercial prosperity of the country might lead them to tolerate a measure of Free Trade.

January, 1860. The Emperor made a Commercial Treaty with Great Britain by which France revised the general prohibition on the import of British goods and reduced the duties upon imported coal, iron, machinery and raw textiles, while Britain reduced the duties upon French wines and spirits.

The treaty provoked the violent opposition of the merchants whose support had been one of the foundations of the Emperor's position.

D. The Liberals.

The Liberals had consistently demanded that the absolute government of Napoleon III should be replaced by constitutional government, in which the representatives of the people had a real share. Up to 1858 the support of the Catholics and middle class had enabled Napoleon to resist all demands for reform. But the defection of the Catholics in 1858 followed by the opposition of the Protectionists in 1860 led him to try to conciliate the Liberals, who viewed with favour his attempts to support the popular cause in Italy.

1860. Napoleon declared a general amnesty and allowed those who had been exiled in 1831 to return to

France. He probably hoped that the Republicans who returned would oppose the Catholics, whose opposition was becoming serious.

November 24th, 1860. Napoleon issued decrees which changed the Autocratic Empire into a Liberal Empire. The decrees—

- (1) Permitted the Senate and Legislature to criticize the Government by moving an address in answer to the Speech from the Throne.
- (2) Ministers, without portfolio, were to sit in both Senate and Legislature.
- (3) The *Mondieur* was to publish parliamentary debates in full.

II. THE LIBERAL EMPIRE NOVEMBER, 1860—JANUARY, 1870

Napoleon had issued the decrees of November, 1860, in the hope that they would win for him the support of the Liberals and divide the Opposition. But the decrees proved inadequate, the union of his opponents falsified his expectation, and the failure of his foreign policy afforded a just ground of criticism to the united opposition.

I. The Elections of May and June, 1868.

A. Continued discontent.

(1) Finance.

Napoleon's policy of "glory abroad, favoritism at home, ~~disgraceful~~ ^{great} expeditions and great public works" had proved very costly and the Emperor had made a large use of his power of authorizing supplementary loans. There was an annual deficit of a hundred million francs and by the end of 1861 the capital debt amounted to about a thousand millions.

The Chamber would not assume responsibility for

the finances unless their authority over the Government was strengthened.

(3) Foreign Policy.

a. Italy.²

After Magenta, June 4th, 1859, a proclamation in which Napoleon III urged the Italians to emancipate themselves led to popular risings against the Pope. Owing to the strong protests of the Catholics, which were strongly supported by the Emperor, Napoleon stopped the war by the Armistice of Villafranca. Goudotgrièr's pamphlet, *The Pope and the Congress*, which was inspired by Napoleon, urged the Pope to save the rest of his territory by giving up the Legations. On the refusal of the Pope Napoleon again turned to Saxony and made the Treaty of Turin on March 10th, 1860. In July, 1860, Napoleon formally recognized the Kingdom of Italy.

The Catholics, embittered by the Emperor's Italian policy, now began to oppose his domestic policy, protested against the claim of the Government to supervise Catholic charitable institutions and demanded the removal of restrictions on the Catholic press.

b. Mexico, 1862-1867.

October 31st, 1861. Great Britain, Spain and France resolved to use force to compel Mexico to fulfil her financial obligations. Owing to differences between the Allies the British and Spanish troops left Mexico and Napoleon determined to establish a Catholic Empire in Mexico with the French troops.

June, 1863. The French entered the City of Mexico and proclaimed Maximilian of Austria as Emperor of Mexico. The vicious events

tion of the Mexicans under Juarez and Paredes. Disensions between the supporters of Maximilian, and the objection of the United States to foreign interference in America led to the failure of Napoleon's scheme.

The Mexican War¹ not only aroused ill-feeling on the part of Great Britain and Spain but kept 40,000 French troops engaged at a great distance from France in a profitless enterprise which cost 14,000,000 francs a month.

c. Poland, 1830.

Popular opinion strongly sympathized with the rising that broke out in Poland against Russia in January, 1830, and all parties united to urge Napoleon to intervene. The Note of remonstrance he addressed to Russia in April, 1830, secured an amnesty for the rebels and alienated the Czar, and his failure increased the dissatisfaction of the Opposition.

(2) The Union Libérale.

The decree of November, 1830, satisfied no one, but aroused popular interest in politics. The Republican party, although it still had only the "Five" deputies, gained influence in the country owing to the reform of the cities of 1831. These now took an active part in politics. A common desire for a greater measure of constitutional liberty united into the Union Libérale Catholics, Protestants, Orléanists, Legitimists and Republicans to oppose a Government against which each section had its own particular grievance.

B. The Elections of 1831.

May 21st and June 1st, 1831. The Union Libérale polled 1,254,366 votes against 8,203,224 cast for the

¹ Page 263.

Government and secured the return of 35 deputies against 248 Government members. These included seventeen Republicans; the leading members were Thiers, Odier, Barre and Berryer. The object of the Union was not revolution but to secure what Thiers called "the indispensable liberties."

II. The Rise of the Third Party.

A. Continued weakness of Napoleon's Foreign Policy.

The Union could do little at first, but Napoleon's foreign policy further weakened his position.

(1) The Pope.

Pius IX strongly protested the undertaking the Emperor made with Sardinia on September 15th, 1864, to withdraw French troops from Rome within two years. He issued on December 8th, 1864, a Syllabus protesting against the principles of national independence and universal suffrage. Napoleon forbade the publication in France of the Syllabus as "contrary to those principles on which the Government of France rests." His action aroused strong protests from the Catholic bishops.

(2) Schleswig-Holstein.

1864. A remonstrance issued by Drouyn de Lhuys against the partition of the Duchies between Austria and Prussia produced no effect. A war between Prussia and Austria seemed imminent, but the long-drawn Mexican War was engaging French forces which might soon be urgently needed at home.

3. Domestic Policy.

The authority of the Emperor remained supreme and the Legislative Chamber did little but register laws and pass budgets. But the Emperor was seriously ill and could not ensure harmony among his ministers or prevent them from abusing their power.

C. The Third Party.

Gradually there grew up in the Legislative Assembly a Liberal-Imperialist party of forty-five members which detached itself from the majority. They wished to support the Empire but favoured "the development of political liberties" and the establishment of a united Ministry responsible to the Legislature which was to control the general policy of the Government; they advocated freedom of the press and the right to hold public meetings.

March 15th, 1866. The Third Party, reinforced by Ollivier and others of the Left, secured sixty-three votes for an amendment to the Address urging the Emperor to "give to the great act of [November] 1860 the further development it needs."

D. The struggle between the Third Party and the *Doctrinaires*.

The extreme Imperialists, led by Rucher the Minister of State, were known as *Marchistes* or, because they met in the Rue de l'Arade, *doctrinaires*. They strongly opposed the Third Party, of which Ollivier became the leader. Both parties wished to save the Empire; their struggle proved one of the causes of its downfall. The emboldened Emperor inclined now to one and now to the other, and a vacillating policy at home and foreign influence abroad seriously weakened the Empire.

(1) The Senate-constitution of July, 1866.

July 14th, 1866. Rucher carried a reactionary Senate-constitution which provided that the Senate alone and not the Legislative Assembly should have the power to discuss constitutional changes, and prohibited the discussion of such changes in the press.

(2) The Decree of January, 1867.

January 14th, 1867. The right of addressing the Emperor¹ was withdrawn, but the power of inter-

petition was given, with certain safeguards, to the Legislature and Senate. The Emperor promised to give greater freedom to the press and to recognize the right of public meeting. This "semi-liberal" decree was a triumph for Ollivier, but the promises of the Emperor were not immediately fulfilled.

(2) The Laws of May and June, 1868.

a. May 11th, 1868. Abolition of the power of the Government arbitrarily to warn, suspend or suppress newspapers. A declaration of intervention was accepted as the only formality necessary for establishing a new journal.

b. June 11th, 1868. Public meetings were allowed to be held in a closed building under police supervision.

III. Unsuccessful Foreign Policy.

The prestige of the Empire was greatly diminished by—

A. Mexico.

May, 1867. The execution of the Emperor Maximilian and the final failure of the Mexican expedition.

B. The Czar Alexander II.

June, 1867. The resentment felt by the Czar because a Parisian jury showed its sympathy with Poland by bringing in a verdict of guilty with extenuating circumstances against a Pole who had thrown a bomb at him during his visit to Paris.

C. Prussia.

July 3rd, 1866. The battle of Königgrätz, in which "France was defeated, as well as Austria"; the recognition by the Emperor of the North German Federation;

the failure of the Emperor to secure Malta, or Luxemburg or Belgium; the sharp censure he received from Prussia which warned him in July, 1867, that he had no right to interfere in German affairs.

D. Italy.

November, 1867. Garibaldi was defeated at Mentana by a French force sent to help the Pope in defiance of the Convention of 1864.² Consequent abrogation of Victor Emmanuel.

E. The Military Law of February, 1868.

Rocher, the Catholics and the Emperor favoured war with Prussia and Italy to re-establish the honour of France and strengthen the dynasty; the Third Party wanted peace. The duration of the Mexican War and the possibility of war in Europe necessitated a reorganisation of the army, which hitherto had been a professional army amounting to only 300,000 men, including the reserves. The Legislature rejected the proposals of Niel, the Minister of War, that universal military service on the lines of Prussia should be adopted, and of the Republicans that the Swiss system of *Gefessene* militia based on a few weeks' universal training should be established.

February 1st, 1868. The Government established service of nine years, five with the colours and four with the reserves; this arrangement would supply an arm of about 280,000 men. The Government authorised the establishment of a National Guard, but the *Garde* was not established.

IV. The Growing Power of the Republicans.

The Republicans had greatly increased their power owing to the concentration of workers in towns, the return of the *ouvriers*, the union of Socialists with Radicals.

² Page 265.

Emancipate the Empire which followed the International Congress at Lausanne in 1847, the influence of Republican newspapers particularly after the limitation of press restrictions in 1838. They counted Napoleon's recent action in supporting the Pope against the Italian patriots.

November, 1863. Prosecution of Republican newspapers which had opened a fund for a memorial to Baudin. Gambetta, in his defence, made a violent attack upon the *Comp d'Honneur* of 1851, in which Baudin had been killed.

V. The Foundation of the Parliamentary Empire.

A. The Election of May, 1869.

The Election of May, 1869, finally compelled Napoleon to change the political system. The Government dared not bring forward official candidates, the *Union libérale* acted not as a united body, but according to sections. The Government secured 1,438,000 votes, the Opposition 1,384,000. "Since 1863 the Government had lost 462,000 adherents, while the Opposition had gained 1,301,000."¹ The Third Party now consisted of 128 deputies and held the balance between forty Republicans of the Left and the Monarchists of the Right.

B. The Triumph of the Third Party.

June 26th, 1869. The Third Party, supported by the Left, carried an interpolation demanding "the creation of a responsible Ministry and the recognition of the right of the Legislative Body to regulate the essential conditions of its own activity." The Emperor, who really sympathized with the Monarchists and did not wish to become a constitutional monarch, accepted part of the policy of the Third Party and suppressed the

Ministry of State. But he made Bismarck President of the Senate and prorogued the Chamber.

C. The Parliamentary Empire.

The Emperor, weakened by illness, dispirited by the failure of his foreign policy, and anxious for the safety of his throne, agreed to the terms of the Third Party, and inaugurated the Parliamentary Empire which he declared to be "equally removed from reaction and from revolutionary theories."

D. The Constitution.

September 6th, 1869. A *Senatus-consultum* provided that—

- (1) The Legislative Assembly should choose its President and Secretaries, initiate legislation, criticize and vote the Budget not as a whole but in sections.
- (2) The Senate was to discuss legislation and if necessary send proposals to the Legislature for further consideration; ministers were to be responsible to the Senate, which had the power of impeachment.

The Parliamentary Empire resembled the British Constitution, but was not a true Parliamentary system because the Emperor selected his own ministers and through them controlled the Executive; he also appointed the Senate, who retained the right of interpreting the constitution.

"At the crisis of its fortunes the Second Empire found itself dependent upon maintaining a parliamentary majority, and exposed to the dangers of irreconcilable Catholics, of a revolutionary action populace, and of a strong republican opinion."¹

¹ Malinverth, *The Last Century in Europe*, page 216.
[Revised Edition.]

III. THE PARLIAMENTARY EMPIRE

I. Difficulties of Orléans.

A. Divisions in the Third Party.

January 2nd, 1870. Orléans, who had been commanded by the Emperor to form a "homogeneous" Cabinet, found that owing to divisions that had arisen he had to appoint four members of the Right Centre, which accepted the recent Senate-candidates, and four of the Left Centre, which demanded that ministerial responsibility should be rigidly enforced and that the power of the Legislature should be increased.

B. The Extreme Imperialists.

These desired to restore the Emperor's autocratic power.

C. The Republicans.

The Republicans now accepted the Belleville Programme put forward by Gambetta, which was practically a declaration of war on the Empire. They were supported by the Socialists, who accepted the theory of collectivism and preached republicanism and revolution to the working classes. The funeral of Victor Noir, slain by Prince Pierre Bonaparte, provoked a great demonstration against the Empire on January 15th, 1870.

II. Orléans's Policy.

Orléans wished to preserve the Empire by conceding popular demands and maintaining peace.

A. Liberal Measures.

February, 1870. He renounced the right exercised by previous Governments of supporting official candidates.

position and ensure the maintenance of his dynasty; the French had expelled Louis Philippe partly because they were bored,¹ and successful wars would extend French territory, assert bonapartism, bring to France the glory she desired and flatter the national vanity. The country gratefully acquiesced in Napoleon's absolute rule, and government became largely a matter of party politics in which only a few were directly interested. Napoleon could declare war or make treaties without reference to the Chambers or public opinion, and was absolute master of foreign policy. By supplanting political life at home he made France "a preponderating force in Europe."²

Napoleon's desire for war was shared by some of his supporters, but from different motives. One section, which included Prince Jerome, was revolutionary and desired to protect peoples against their kings; many Parisians favoured such intervention, which was in accordance with the principles laid down on November 19th, 1793,³ by the Revolutionists. The other section was the Catholics, who wished to use the armies of France to maintain the claims of the Catholic Church to the Holy Places and to support the Pope against the Italian people. The varying influence of these two parties led to sudden changes in Napoleon's policy and made him in foreign as well as domestic affairs "a man of mystery" and an opportunist.

II. Object of Napoleon's Foreign Policy.

Napoleon professed a desire to form a European confederation of governments willing to unite with France in "those interests which were common to all," and he made efforts at various times to secure the co-operation of Great Britain, Austria and Italy. In practice he signed at "tearing up the Treaty of 1815, giving freedom to oppressed nations and restoring her

¹ Page 214.

² *Colquhoun*.

³ *Notes on European History*, Vol. III, page 222.

natural boundaries to France."¹ These aims were directly contrary to the principles of the Grand Alliance and were bound to lead to war.

A. The Treaty of 1815 and the Great Powers.

Napoleon's accession was a negation of the Treaty of 1815, but the Great Powers, who were just recovering from the shock of 1848, accepted him as the defender of order against revolution.

(1) Russia.

Nicholas I, the champion of legitimacy, strongly resented the establishment of the Second Empire, but was prevented by the opposition of Great Britain from forming a European coalition against Napoleon: he ultimately accepted the parvenu Emperor with reluctance and addressed him as "my friend" instead of "my brother."

(2) Great Britain.

Great Britain had readily accepted Napoleon, who realised the importance of strengthening his position by establishing a good understanding between the two Liberal Powers of Europe, while Britain was anxious to secure the help of France in resisting the growing power of Russia. The two countries united to oppose Russia in the Crimean War, and the visits of Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort to Paris in August 1855 and of Napoleon and the Empress to England in 1857 strengthened the friendship between France and Great Britain, who fought together in China in 1860.

The Crimean War in 1855 and the Volunteer Movement in England in 1859 weakened the friendship, but the Treaty of Commerce of 1860 formed a new bond between the Governments, which took joint action with Spain against Mexico in 1862. Great

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*.

Britain withdrew from the Mexican expedition in 1862, but again co-operated with France (and the United States) against Japan in 1863.

France, Great Britain and Russia vainly tried to settle the Schleswig-Holstein question by a Congress in 1864.

At the beginning of the Franco-Prussian War British feeling was hostile to France, which was regarded as the aggressor, but the misfortune of France aroused much sympathy and Great Britain succeeded in inducing France to reduce the French war indemnity from six to five milliards of francs.

(2) Austria.

Nationalist opposition in Hungary and financial difficulties made the Emperor Francis Joseph anxious to avoid war. Austria was anxious to maintain the free navigation of the Danube, which was threatened by Russia, and wanted Italy to join Great Britain and France in the Chinese War. But when she had secured her end by diplomacy she left the Western Powers to fight alone.

The Liberal party favoured the Italian cause, was anxious for war with Austria, and welcomed Napoleon's intervention in Italy in 1859. But Napoleon, fearing the hostility of Great Britain and knowing that the Prussians were threatening the Rhine, made the Treaty of Zurich¹ with Austria in November 1859.

In the war of 1866 Bismarck secured the neutrality of France. But Napoleon was greatly disappointed that Prussia refused to agree to the extension of French territory to the Rhine, and in August, 1870, tried to conclude an alliance with Austria; but in 1870 Austria, while preserving her armed neutrality, refused to join France in the Franco-Prussian War.

(1) *Prussia.*

Up to the accession of William I in 1861 Prussia had adopted a passive policy. Bismarck, who directed foreign policy from 1862, aimed at securing German unity by force of arms, and this involved hostility to Austria. The desire of Napoleon to extend his frontiers to the Rhine, and the policy of Bismarck, made war between France and Prussia inevitable.

(2) *Italy.*

Napoleon's feeling in favour of nationality led him to support Sardinia against Austria and the Pope.

But changing conditions of home politics led Napoleon to change his foreign policy from time to time, and his attitude towards Italy was vacillating. The influence of the Liberals led Napoleon to join Sardinia in war against Austria in May, 1859; to evacuate Lombardy in June, 1859; to promise Victor Emmanuel, in 1860, that he would withdraw his troops from Rome.

The restoration of the Pope to Rome in April, 1860, the occupation of Rome by French troops and the defeat of Garibaldi by French troops at Mentana, in 1867, were largely due to the fact that at the times in question Napoleon was endeavouring to secure the support of the Catholics in France.

III. *Oppressed Nationalities.*

Napoleon's desire to support the principle of nationality led him towards the end of the Crimean War, in 1854, to suggest that Russia might be crippled by the establishment of national states in Poland and the Caucasus. In 1858 he secured the union of Moldavia and Wallachia and so founded the nucleus of Roumania. EMERGENCY on behalf of the Italian people brought him into conflict with Catholics at home and Austria abroad and secured

grave suspicion among the Powers. He vainly attempted to persuade the Czar to restore the Kingdom of Poland in 1806.

IV. The Natural Boundaries of France.

In Napoleon's case the assertion of nationality was combined with a policy of annexation; he expected from the nations he assisted *un possible*¹ in the shape of territory. His insatiable methods actually secured Nice and Savoy for France.

He desired to make the Rhine the boundary of France, and his policy was one of the reasons that made war between France and Prussia inevitable. His suggestions of 1804 aimed ultimately at the acquisition of Belgium; in 1859 the suspicion that he wished to adopt an aggressive policy made Great Britain hostile and led to the foundation of the Volunteer force.

In 1806 Napoleon tried to take advantage of the Austro-Prussian War to secure Mainz and part of the left bank of the Rhine, and also offered to remain neutral if Prussia would connive at French occupation of Luxembourg and Belgium. His failure to declare war on the refusal of Prussia to pay this "hotel-keeper's bill"² was a confession of weakness. In August, 1807, he endeavored to strengthen his position by forming an understanding with Austria against the common enemy Prussia.

V. The Catholics.

Napoleon was anxious to secure the help of the French Catholics, whom the Emperor strongly supported.

The Crispan War was an assertion by Napoleon of the right of the Roman Catholics to the Holy Places. The Syrian expedition of 1800 defended the Christian Maronites against the Mohammedans; to some extent the Mexican War, 1801-1807, was a crusade on behalf of Catholics. Catholic influences had an important effect on Napoleon's Italian policy.

¹ *Rimarche*.

² *Paid*.

VI. General.

Napoleon's foreign policy profoundly affected Europe and France. From 1815 to 1854 there had been no great European war; from 1854 to 1870 there were four wars in which the Great Powers were involved and Central Europe was rearranged. Napoleon's aggressive policy contributed to disturb the peace, and under him "the history of France is the history of every nation in Europe except France."¹

Napoleon's foreign policy stimulated the revival of party politics in France and thus greatly contributed to the fall of the Empire.

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THE CRIMEAN WAR

I. Causes.

A. Nicholas I and Turkey.

(1) Strong position of Nicholas I.

Russia had had no revolution in 1848; Nicholas I had crushed Poland, helped Austria to reduce Hungarian rebels,² sent Russian troops to occupy Moldavia and Wallachia, in which the revolutionary movement had gained ground, and had ensured the succession of Prince Christian of Glücksburg to the Danish throne. Nicholas thought he was strong enough to impose his will on Europe.

(2) Nicholas I and the Greek Church.

Nicholas I was a man of strong religious feeling and regarded himself as the champion of the Greek Church. "He viewed Islam with the abhorrence of a Crusader"³ and maintained that the Treaty of

¹ Lodge.² Page 387.³ Terry.

Katich-Raisakdjil, 1774,¹ had given him the right of protecting all Greek Christians in Turkey, although that treaty provided only that Russia "may make on all occasions representations in favour of the new Church in Constantinople."

The recognition of Nicholas' claim would have broken up the Turkish Empire by giving the orthodox Greeks the right of appeal to a strong external power.

(2) Nicholas I and the "Sick Man."

Nicholas saw that the attempts made to recognize Turkey by the Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839) and Abdul Mejid (1839-1861) were proving unsuccessful. The power of Turkey was obviously diminishing; Greece had gained independence; the Principalities were content to secure autonomy; Montenegro was practically independent. Nicholas honestly believed that the Turkish Empire would break up and was anxious to use the opportunity to protect Russian interests. He anticipated no opposition from Austria or Prussia, but was anxious to secure the support of Great Britain.

a. 1844.

1844. At the suggestion of Lord Aberdeen, who was friendly to Russia, Nicholas visited England and sounded Aberdeen as to the possibility of joint intervention in Turkey by Great Britain and Russia. Great Britain refused to co-operate and regarded with grave suspicion the attitude Nicholas adopted towards Turkey.

b. 1853.

By 1853 the friendly relations between Russia and Great Britain had been weakened; the policy of Nicholas in crushing the Hungarian revolt in 1848 aroused strong opposition.

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. III, page 260.

1849. British and French fleets went to the Bosphorus to support the Sultan in his refusal to surrender the children of Keosuth, who had fled to Constantinople to escape the vengeance of the Empress of Russia and Austria.

A feeling was growing that the extension of Russian power in the East might threaten the supremacy of Great Britain in India, and Lord John Russell declared "if we do not stop the Russians on the Danube, we shall have to stop them on the Indus"; Palmerston was very hostile to Russia. Nicholas I was angry because Britain had blockaded the Pinares in January, 1850¹; Stratford de Redcliffe, the British ambassador at Constantinople, encouraged Abdul Mejid to resist Russian demands.

January, 1853. Nicholas, who felt that the condition of Turkey made immediate action essential, said to Sir Hamilton Seymour, the British ambassador at St. Petersburg, "We have on our hands a sick man—a very sick man; it will be a great misfortune if one of these days he should slip away from us before the necessary arrangements have been made." He repudiated any desire to carry out the scheme of establishing a Byzantine Empire which Catherine II had formed; declared that neither Russia nor any Great Power must hold Constantinople; suggested that Rumania and Bulgaria should become independent states under Russian protection and that Great Britain should receive Egypt and Crete.

The maintenance of the integrity of Turkey had long been a firm tradition of British foreign policy. British statesmen suspected that

¹ *Success British History*, Vol. IV, para 865.

Nicholas' intentions towards the "sick man" were homicidal but most foolishly failed strongly to repudiate them, and Nicholas thought that he was assured of British neutrality in any crisis that might arise.

B. The Holy Places—the immediate cause.

(1) History of the Holy Places.

The Holy Places included the Church built by the Empress Helena at Bethlehem to enclose the Sanctuary of the Nativity, the tomb of the Virgin Mary at Gethsemane, and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Both Greek and Latin Christians were anxious to secure the custody of the Holy Places which had been granted to France by the Sultan originally in 1538 and afterwards in 1740. France had neglected to enforce her rights; the Greeks had, with the Sultan's permission, taken the Holy Places and repaired them when necessary.

(2) Napoleon's demand.

1801. Napoleon, while President, in order to *show* the support of the Roman Catholics, and anxious by a showy foreign policy to direct the attention of Frenchmen from domestic politics, resorted to the *claque* of France.

February 2nd, 1802. The Sultan acceded to Napoleon's demand, which was the direct cause of the Crimean War. "There was repose in the Empire of the Sultan, and even the rival Churches of Jerusalem were urging each other to rest, when the French President, in cold blood and under no new motive for action, took up the forgotten cause of the Latin Church of Jerusalem and began to apply it as a wedge for widening the peace of the world."¹

¹ *Kinglake's Narrative of the Crimea*.

(3) Nicholas and Napoleon III.

Nicholas, the champion of the Greek Church, protested against the restoration of French authority over the Holy Places; he thought that the time had come to secure the property of the sick man, and was ready to undertake a war which he hoped would expel the Turks from Europe and finally settle the Eastern Question.

Napoleon III was irritated because Nicholas addressed him as *Mes Ami* and not *Mon Frère*, desired by a successful war to weaken the power of Russia, to consolidate his new Empire and to give to France the "glory" she desired. He "needed a war and determined to have one."

The custody of the Holy Places, a trivial question, led to a struggle between France and Russia for supremacy in the East.

II. From Menchikoff's Mission, March, 1853,

to the Declaration of War by Turkey, October, 1853.

March 18th, 1853. Arrival of Menchikoff at Constantinople. His failure to pay the usual courtesy call on the Turkish Foreign Minister and his insolent bearing gave great offence.

A. Menchikoff's demands.

April 15th, 1853. Menchikoff formally demanded—

- (1) That the claims of the Greek Church to the custody of the Holy Places should be recognised by the Sultan.
- (2) The Orthodox Greeks.

The recognition of the right of Russia to protect the orthodox Greek subjects of the Sultan.

a. The definition of the terms of Katchuk-Kaimardji.

By the Treaty of Katchuk-Kaimardji the Czar had undertaken "to protect the Christian

religion and its Churches," and Nicholas wished that this vague duty should be defined as the duty of protecting the orthodox Greeks in Turkey.

b. The position of Austria.

Austria possessed such rights in regard to the Sultan's Roman Catholic subjects, but there were very few in number.

c. The Sultan's authority threatened.

The concession of Menchikov's demand would have abrogated the ultimate authority of the Sultan over 12,000,000 of his subjects. Russia was unwilling to stake by treaty an influence which, in view of the large number of orthodox Greeks in Turkey, was undoubtedly effective although somewhat vague.

B. Stratford de Redcliffe.

Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, created Viscount in 1832, had secured such influence at Constantinople, 1842-1852, owing to his support of Turkish reforms that he was nicknamed "the Great Elitch"¹ by the Turks. The refusal of the Czar to accept him as ambassador to St. Petersburg in 1852 gave him a personal grievance against Nicholas I.

April 24, 1853. He returned to Constantinople, which he had left owing to the difficulty of ensuring real reform in Turkey, to deal with Menchikov. He skillfully distinguished between the two Russian demands and informed the Sultan that he had been instructed to order the British fleet at Malta to get ready to sail to Constantinople.

c(1) The Holy Places.

May 24, 1853. Stratford persuaded the Sultan to remove the just grievances of the Greek Church.

¹ La Ambassadeur.

(2) *Russian Intervention.*

Stratford persuaded the Sultan to reject the demand of the Czar that he should be formally recognised as the protector of Greek Christians in Turkey but to offer to refer the question to the Great Powers.

Stratford had isolated Russia and made Great Britain a party to the quarrel.

May 22nd, 1853. Menchikoff withdrew from Constantinople.

Nicholas wished to declare war on Turkey immediately and threatened to seize the Principality. The British and French fleets sailed to Besika Bay at the mouth of the Dardanelles in July.

C. *The Invasion of the Principalities.*

(1) *The Invasion.*

June 24th, 1853. The Russians, under Gortschakoff, invaded Moldavia and Wallachia. The Czar declared that he did not want war, but had occupied the Principalities in order to secure recognition for the rights of Russia.

(2) *Turkey.*

Turkey, on the advice of Great Britain, offered no resistance, although she would have been justified in regarding the invasion as a *casus belli*.

(3) *Austria.*

Austria strongly protested against the occupation of the Principalities as an interference with the free navigation of the Danube and moved her troops on the Serbian border, but offered mediation.

(4) *Prussia.*

Prussia, although greatly under the influence of Russia, also protested, partly because she feared that a general war would lead to French aggression on the Rhine, partly because she was unwilling that German policy should be determined by Austria alone.

D. The Vienna Note.

- (1) July, 1853. Largely owing to the desire of Austria to maintain peace, a conference of Great Britain, France, Prussia and Austria drew up the Vienna Note, which confirmed the Treaties of Kutchuk-Kainarj and Adrianople; accepted a firman² issued by the Sultan in June, 1853, granting religious toleration to his Christian subjects; and gave Russian consuls authority over the Holy Places.
- (2) August 3rd, 1853. The Czar, urged by Prussia, accepted the Note.
- (3) August 15th, 1853. The Sultan, on Stratford's official advice, accepted the Note, although he bitterly resented the invasion of the Principalities and felt sure that France would help him if necessary against Russia. But, probably owing to Stratford's private advice, the Sultan added an attachment guaranteeing his own authority over his Greek subjects.
- (4) The Czar, in spite of strong pressure from Austria and Prussia, refused to admit any amendment to a Note drawn up by the Great Powers and accepted by himself.
- (5) October 5th, 1853. Turkey declared war against Russia.

III. Declaration of War by Turkey, October, 1853. Great Britain and France, March, 1854.

The cause of the Czar's rejection of the Vienna Note.

(1) Great Britain and France.

Great Britain and France now withdrew the Vienna Note and felt that, even if it had been fully accepted, it would have been interpreted by Russia only in her own interests.

Alexander, although desirous in accordance with

² I.e. a decree.

traditional policy of Britain to maintain the integrity of Turkey, was most anxious to maintain peace; but a war party, led by Palmerston, was hostile to Russia, and the difference between Aberdeen and Palmerston prevented the strong action which alone could have averted war. Stratford de Redcliffe favoured war, and Napoleon welcomed the opportunity of strengthening his position in France by successful intervention on behalf of Turkey, the traditional friend of France, against Russia, which had maintained the Greek claims to the Holy Places.

(2) Austria and Prussia.

Austria and Prussia disapproved of the withdrawal of the Suez by the Western Powers and the concert of the Four Powers was broken. The Czar was most anxious to avert the hostility of Austria, which could imperil his eastern flank, and of Prussia, which had great influence with the Baltic States upon which Russia largely depended for provisions of war.

Nicholas failed to induce Austria and Prussia to make an alliance with Russia against the Western Powers, but by personal interviews with the Emperor Francis Joseph at Olmutz and with Frederick William IV at Berlin secured a promise of their neutrality on condition that his troops did not cross the Danube.

B. Turkey declares War, October, 1853.

October 4th, 1853. Omar Pasha demanded that Russia should evacuate the Principality within fifteen days. The Russians refused, but Nicholas asserted that he would not take the offensive. Omar crossed the Danube.

November 4th, 1853. Omar defeated the Russians at Ochakov.

November 20th, 1853. Great Britain and France promised to help Turkey if the Czar would not make peace on steadfast terms.

C. The Allied Fleets pass the Dardanelles, October, 1853.

- 1) October 22nd, 1853. Largely owing to the influence of Napoleon III the French and British fleets passed the Dardanelles, thus breaking the Straits Act of 1840.¹
- 2) The nominal object was to protect the Sultan against a Mahomedan rising; the real aim was to ensure the integrity of the Turkish Empire.
- 3) The passage of the Dardanelles naturally led the Turks to think that Great Britain and France were ready for war and would support them whenever necessary.
- 4) Austria and Prussia were little concerned with the passage of the Dardanelles and took no part in the movement.

D. The "Massacre" of Sinope, November, 1853.

November 30th, 1853. Nicholas thought that Omar's operations justified him in taking the offensive, and a Russian fleet destroyed a Turkish squadron at Sinope and continued firing on the Turks long after they were able to resist.

The action of the Russians was perfectly justified because they were at war with Turkey, which had declared war and taken the first steps in military operations on land, but it was most unwise. It made a general war almost inevitable and Stratford de Redcliffe said, "Thank God! that's over"; in England it strengthened the war party, which *The Times* now joined; it led Napoleon to insist that the Allied fleets should enter the Black Sea.

E. The Allies enter the Black Sea.

January 3rd, 1854. To counterbalance the advantage afforded to Russia by the occupation of the Principalities, the Allied fleets entered the Black Sea and "invited" Russian ships to return to port. This act really meant

¹ Page 186.

mitted the Allies to support Turkey and led Nicholas I to reject a new Note drawn up in December by the Powers at Vienna.

F. Declaration of War.

February 28th, 1854. Austria offered to join Great Britain and France in requiring the evacuation of the Principality, but unlike France and Great Britain did not desire to cripple the power of Russia.

March 12th, 1854. Great Britain and France made a treaty of alliance with Turkey.

March 20th, 1854. Popular feeling against Russia compelled Great Britain and France to declare war on Russia without waiting for a formal agreement with Austria.

Great Britain and France, for the first time since the days of Cresswell, were united against a common enemy; the war was to be waged at a distance of about three weeks' sail from Marseilles, the nearest Allied port; newspaper reporters for the first time accompanied the troops.

IV. War and Diplomacy.

A. August, 1854. Evacuation, on the demand of Austria, of the Principality by the Russians, who had failed in June to capture Eilisia, gallantly defended by Butler and Nansworthy. The Principality was occupied by Austria to protect the navigation of the Danube. This led to a difference of opinion between Austria (who had secured her great object) and the Allies, who desired further to weaken Russian power in the East.

(1) Prussia.

Frederick William IV greatly admired Nicholas I, objected to an alliance with Napoleon III and with the infidel Turks, and demanded, later, as the price of an alliance with Great Britain, guarantees for the

maintenance of the frontiers of Germany and Prussia which Aberdeen could not give. Bismarck urged him to take no active part in the war, but to concentrate his troops in Silesia as a check to the growing power of Austria.

(2) Austria.

Austria seemed at one time willing to join the Allies. In August, 1854, unlike Prussia, she accepted the "Four Points" laid down by Great Britain and France as preliminaries of peace negotiations: the abolition of the Russian protectorate over the Principalities; the free navigation of the Danube; the revision of the clauses in the treaty of 1841 relating to the Black Sea and Dardanelles; the abandonment of the Czar's claim to protect Greek Christians in the Turkish Empire. But Austria finally decided not to join, fearing that France might use the opportunity to weaken the power of Austria in Central Europe, although she concluded a defensive alliance with Great Britain and France against Russia, December 2nd, 1854.

- B. August, 1854. Joint British and French expedition to the Baltic under Sir Charles Napier. Capture of Bomarsund (August 16th), but Cronstadt, though recommended, was not attacked. Dissatisfaction in England at the inadequate results of the expedition.

C. The Crimean War.

The term "Crimean War" is not strictly correct. War had been going on for six months before the Crimea was invaded, and important operations also took place in the Baltic Sea.

The invasion of the Crimea—the suggestion of which has been generally ascribed to Napoleon III, King of the Romans—and the peace has been adversely decided. But it was necessary to prevent the Russian

ships from taking refuge in Sebastopol, which *The Times* declared to be "the very heart of the Russian power in the East"; the Allies, whose base was the sea, had a great advantage over the Russians, who had much difficulty in transporting supplies over the vast steppes; the attack on Sebastopol drained the resources of Russia and would probably have been successful if an attack had been made immediately after the battle of the Alma, but rapid action was rendered difficult owing to the divided command and to the lack of adequate means of transport of supplies on land.

September 14th, 1854. The Allied troops, under Lord Raglan and Marshal St. Arnaud, landed in the Crimea.

September 20th, 1854. Menshikoff's defeat at the Alma. The Allies made a grave mistake in delaying three weeks before starting the siege of Sebastopol, which Todleben greatly strengthened by constructing the Malakof, the Redan and other fortifications.

September 24th, 1854. Death of St. Arnaud, who was succeeded by Canrobert.

October 25th, 1854. Balaklava. Menshikoff, having received reinforcements, attacked the Allies from the East. The Light Brigade¹ charged the Russian army in position and lost two-thirds of its men in twenty minutes. "It is magnificent, but it is not war" (Raglan).

November 5th, 1854. Incarpetaria. "The southern battle." Menshikoff's attempt to relieve Sebastopol was frustrated. The Russians lost very heavily. But the Allies lost so many men that they could not take Sebastopol by assault and were committed to a winter campaign.

November 14th, 1854. A great storm wrecked British transports and caused enormous loss of stores, clothes, and hay. Great suffering of the troops owing to lack of stores. Nine thousand British troops died in hospital before the end of February.

¹ Out of 600 men who joined in the charge, 113 crossed the rail-road after the retreat. 113 were killed, and 124 wounded.

February 17th, 1855. The Turks defeated the Russians at Eupatoria.

March 2nd, 1855. Death of the Czar Nicholas I owing to the cold of the winter, anxiety about the war, and chagrin at the defeat at Eupatoria.¹

D. The Congress at Vienna, March-May, 1856.

Prussia had now accepted the Four Points; Russia, now left without friends, consented to treat, and a Congress of the Powers was held at Vienna.

The Congress failed because Russia, although willing to give up her protectorate over the Principalities and to allow the free navigation of the Danube, refused to agree to the neutrality of the Black Sea.

Austria, anxious to end the war owing to the growing danger of a Sardinian attack on Lombardy, suggested a compromise, and on the failure of her suggestion became neutral; she thus aroused the resentment of the Allies, who considered that she had deserted them, while her failure to support Russia, who had saved her in 1848, made that country unfriendly.

Consequent isolation of Austria.

January, 1856. Sardinia and Sweden joined the Allies. Cavour sent 15,000 Sardinian troops. General Canrobert (resigned May 16th) and Lord Raglan (died June 26th) succeeded by Flobert and Simpson.

June 18th, 1856. Failure of the Allies' assault on the Malakoff and the Redan.

August 16th, 1856. The French and the Sardinians repulsed at the Tchernaya an attempt of the Russians to seize the siege.

September 8th, 1856. The French captured the Malakoff. The British captured but failed to hold the Redan.

¹ *Potok's* famous saying, "General Flobert turned traitor," referred to Nicholas' statement that Generals Jomini and Flobert would fight on his side.

September 24th, 1855. The Russians evacuated Sebastopol after destroying all the chief buildings.

November 26th, 1855. The Russians captured Kars after a gallant defense by General Fenwick Williams.

V. Criticism of the War.

A. Operations were sometimes hampered owing to the necessity of consulting the Allies.

(1) Lord Raglan wished to attack Sebastopol immediately after the battle of the Alma, but St. Armand and Canrobert (who succeeded him September 22th, 1855) refused to agree, as the siege guns had not been landed. The French generals were supported by Sir John Burgoyne, who commanded the Engineers.

(2) The first bombardment of Sebastopol failed, partly because Canrobert refused to sanction an assault at the critical moment owing to the loss of life it would entail.

(3) "What hampered the Allies was the Alliance."

(4) After their capture of the Malakoff the French, satisfied with the glory they had won and weary of the war, longed for peace. The British were eager for a new campaign in which they could atone for their failures in the Baltic and at the Balaclava.

B. The commanders-in-chief were not competent for their work.

(1) Lord Raglan, a man of great bravery and infinite patience, lacked resource, and was weak in strategy, although his failure was due partly to the mismanagement of the Government and lack of co-operation from his French colleagues. General Canrobert's ill-health impaired his efficiency.

(2) Their difficulties were aggravated by differences between some of the officers, especially between Lord Lucan,

who commanded the cavalry, and his brother-in-law, Lord Cardigan.

- (5) Of the French leaders, St. Arnaud was little more than a brave adventurer; Canrobert's irresolution gained for him the nickname of "Bob Carr" from the British; Frossier was a competent soldier and, unlike his predecessors, neglected the serious instructions with which Napoleon hampered his generals.

C. There was gross mismanagement.

It was expected that the war would soon be completed, and no adequate provision was made for a winter campaign in 1854-1855.

- (1) Until Florence Nightingale went out the overcrowded hospitals were scandalously disorganized.
- (2) There was a great lack of tents, warm clothing and boots, and the loss of the stores in the storm of November 16th, 1854 was a great disaster.
- (3) The horses died owing to cold and the loss of hay in the storm of November 16th, 1854, and the men had to transport goods themselves over abominably bad roads.
- (4) Popular indignation was raised by the reports of William Russell, the representative of *The Times*, the first modern war correspondent.

VI. The Treaty of Paris.

A. Conditions leading up to the Treaty of Paris.

(1) Russia.

Russia had lost at least three times as many men as the Allies; her finances could not stand the cost of another campaign; it was feared that a continuance of the war might lead to the loss of Poland, Finland, the Crimea and the Caucasus.

(2) Napoleon III and Great Britain.

Napoleon professed his willingness to continue the war only if Britain was willing to co-operate with him in saving Poland from Russia, Hungary and Italy from Austria, and hoped that, in the general confusion that would follow, France might extend her territory towards the Rhine. Palmerston refused to consider these suggestions.

(3) Austria.

Austria, encouraged by the weakness of Russia, sent an ultimatum that unless the Czar consented to treat for peace by the middle of January she would join the Allies to force Russia to accept the Four Points.

(4) Prussia.

Prussia urged Russia to make peace.

February 1st, 1856. The preliminaries of peace were signed at Vienna.

February 26th, 1856. The representatives of France, Great Britain, Russia, Turkey, Austria and Saxony assembled at Paris to draw up terms of peace. Prussia joined later.

B. Terms of peace.

(1) The Black Sea.

The Black Sea to be neutralised; its waters were declared open for all merchantmen, closed to all warships. This clause was made in the interests of Great Britain rather than Europe.

But in 1870 Bismarck agreed to the abolition of this clause in recognition of the neutrality of Russia during the Franco-German War, and then Great Britain finally lost the main advantage to secure which she had joined in the Crimean War.

(2) The Danube.

The navigation of the Danube was to be kept free under the supervision of a European Commission. Thus Austria secured what she wanted, but Austria's policy had led to her isolation, and of this Sardinia took advantage in 1859.

(3) Turkey.

Turkey, the integrity of which was guaranteed by Great Britain, France and Austria, should be admitted to the Concert and general laws of Europe; Europe had no right to intervene in Turkey whatever the Sultan might do. A portion of the Danube delta, which she had lost in 1829, was restored to Turkey; part of Bessarabia was added to Moldavia.

Thus Great Britain had apparently established a permanent check on the power of Russia. But—

- a. Turkey was essentially non-European; no power could "convert the Sultan and his hungry hordes of Pashas into the chiefs of a European state."
- b. 1878. None of the Great Powers, in spite of their treaty obligations, intervened to protect Turkey against Russia.
- c. The power of the Sultan was so weak that the Turkish Empire had already lost many of its former provinces, and within recent years had kept Egypt only with the help of the Western Powers. The Sultan promised to give better treatment to his Christian subjects but did not keep his promises, and some of his subjects, knowing that they could not hope for foreign help, broke away from Turkey.

December, 1861. Union of Moldavia and Wallachia into Rumania, with the strong approval of Napoleon III and in spite of the

protests of Great Britain, who wished to maintain the integrity of Turkey.

But the provinces that have broken away from Turkey have not assisted but retarded the expansion of Russia to the South-West, and "Russia is no nearer Constantinople than she was in 1856."

(4) Russia.

Russia, prevented from developing towards the South, turned to the East, and serious difficulties arose between Great Britain and Russia on the North-West frontier of India in 1885.

Russia regained in 1878 the territory she had ceded in 1856 and again extended her frontier to the Danube.

C. Maritime War.

The Congress of Paris regulated maritime war and provided—

- (1) That privateering should be abolished.
- (2) That neutral ships should make neutral cargoes except in case of contraband of war.
[1815. Germany attacked neutral and enemy merchant ships in defiance of this declaration.]
- (3) That blockades to be respected must be effective.

VII. General.

Not less than 600,000 men (including nearly 500,000 Russians) had perished to secure a treaty which proved absolutely unstable, and the obscure dispute about the Holy Places developed into a quarrel which let loose war upon Europe and terminated the forty years of peace which had followed Waterloo.

The Sultan found himself absolutely master of his

Christian subjects, but the integrity of Turkey was maintained only for a short time.

France, and particularly Napoleon III, gained great glory, and the visits paid to France by the Queen of England, the Kings of Belgium, Württemberg and Bavaria showed that the war and the Congress of Paris had changed Napoleon's position in Europe. His authority was greatly strengthened in France and the "Crimean War was a greater blow to the Liberalism of the French nation than to the autocracy of the Russian Czar." But Napoleon's ambition was soon to lead to the downfall of France.

Great Britain found, as Lord Salisbury said, that she "had put her money on the wrong horse" and laid up for herself trouble in Asia.

Austria was isolated; she had treated Prussia with such contempt that her conduct at Paris in 1856 was a direct cause of the Austro-Prussian War of 1866; her prestige in Italy had been weakened by the surrender of Sicily to the Congress of Paris, where Cavour made an impassioned appeal for the unity of Italy which aroused the sympathy of the Liberal party in England.

In 1864 Frederick VII of Denmark took advantage of the preoccupation of the Powers with the Crimean War and tried to assert his authority over Schleswig-Holstein.

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Modern Europe (Allen Phillips), Houghton, chap. XIV.
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NAPOLEON III. AND ITALY¹THE MEXICAN WAR²

THE FRANCO-GERMAN WAR

JULY, 1870—FEBRUARY, 1871

I. General Conditions.

The policy of Bismarck and Napoleon III. made the war inevitable.

A. Bismarck.

Bismarck's main object of establishing the unity of Germany under the leadership of Prussia had been assisted by the defeat of Denmark³ and Austria,⁴ which had made Prussia one of the leading military powers in Europe. The heavy cost of the Prussian army caused dissatisfaction, and a successful war against France would justify his policy in maintaining the army. He wanted war with France to allay the fears of the South German States, who feared that, if they joined the Northern Confederation, they might be attacked by France, who held Strasbourg and dominated the left bank of the Upper Rhine.

B. Napoleon III.

Napoleon III. had been discredited by the failure of the Mexican War, by his failure to help Poland against Russia in 1863, Denmark against Prussia and Austria in 1864, Austria against Prussia in 1866, and by his waverling Polish policy. He had spent nine hundred million francs in beautifying Paris, although the finances were in the greatest disorder. The Emperor's bad health impaired his intellect and energy, and the Empire seemed

¹ See pages 284, 287, 292, 293, 291, 293.

² Page 277.

³ See page 252.

⁴ Page 266.

bound to fail. He, and still more the Emperor Napoleon and the Monarchists, hoped that successful war would re-establish the authority of the Emperor and ensure the succession of the Prince Imperial; war with Prussia seemed imperative.

(1) Danger from Prussia.

The French were jealous of the prestige and power Prussia had recently gained and particularly resented the defeat of Austria. "Public opinion in France had suddenly become hostile to German unity; people talked of 'avenging Sadova.'"

(2) Bismarck prevents the extension of French territory.

Napoleon wished to obtain "compensation" for the additional territory and power which Prussia had recently secured, but his efforts were frustrated by Bismarck.

a. Bavaria and Rome.

1866. Bismarck refused Napoleon's demand for Rhenish Bavaria and Rome, and by publishing the demand aroused strong feeling against France in Southern Germany, which hitherto, in spite of the French possessions on the Rhine,¹ had inclined to rely upon the help of France to maintain their independence.

b. Belgium.

August, 1866. Napoleon proposed that Prussia should help him to get Luxembourg and Belgium. Bismarck refused. The publication of Napoleon's proposal in 1870 caused the neutrality of Great Britain, which strongly resented any attempt to extend French influence in the Netherlands.

c. Luxembourg.

1867. The King of Holland was sovereign of Luxembourg, which had been a member of the German Confederation until 1848 and was garrisoned by Prussian soldiers. He agreed to sell Luxembourg to Napoleon, but withdrew his consent on learning from Bismarck that such a sale would lead to war with Prussia.

The suggestion of Beust that Luxembourg should be ceded to Belgium, which should surrender a small part of its territory to France, failed because of the refusal of the King of Belgium to cede any territory. If this suggestion had been carried out it might have averted war by soothing the indignation felt in France at the growth of Prussia.

May 11th, 1867. A Conference of the Powers in London declared that Luxembourg was neutral territory under the sovereignty of the King of Holland,¹ who promised to dismantle the fortifications of Luxembourg. The Prussian garrison withdrew.

(3) The Belgian Railways.

February, 1869. The French Eastern Railway Company purchased the Belgian railways. The sale was forbidden by the Belgian Government. The French thought that their action was prompted by Bismarck.

C. The Great Powers and the War.

(1) Austria.

Count Beust, the Chancellor, was a bitter opponent of Prussia, hoped to restore the supremacy of Austria in Germany and was inclined to support the Poles in Galicia to check the westward extension of Russia.

¹ Germany violated this neutrality in 1914.

But Andrássy, the Hungarian Premier, strongly opposed war with Germany; the military preparations of Austria were incomplete, her finances were disorganised and she feared that active operations with France against Prussia would lead to the intervention of Russia on her eastern frontier.

1867. Francis Joseph and Napoleon met at Salsburg. A general assurance of common policy was exchanged and Napoleon promised to help Austria if Prussia attacked her, while Francis Joseph promised to help France if Prussia and Russia united against her.

1870. The visit of the Archduke Albrecht to Paris in February and of General Lehran to Vienna to discuss possible plans of campaign against Prussia led the French to expect that Austria would help them. But no formal treaty of alliance was made between France and Austria.

July 20th, 1870. Austria declared herself neutral.

(2) Italy.

Bad feeling had arisen between Prussia and Sardinia owing to the recent campaign against Austria.¹ Victor Emmanuel sympathised with Napoleon; but the assistance given by the French to the Pope at Mentana² and the continuance of the French occupation of Rome, in spite of the agreement of September, 1864, and in consequence of Napoleon's dependence on the French Catholics, aroused strong resentment in Italy. Napoleon declared that "he could not defend his honour on the Rhine to sacrifice it on the Tiber"; the French Catholics, in the desire to save Rome, joined the French Empire.

July 20th, 1870. Italy declared her neutrality. But Italy and Austria agreed to guarantee each other's territories & war broke out between France and Prussia.

¹ Page 476.

² Page 480.

(3) Russia.

Russia feared the hostility of Austria and was annoyed by rebuffs in Bulgaria (1885), Roumania (1886) and Serbia (1887), which, it was suspected, were partly due to French influence. If Austria and France united the written promises of Russia would be jeopardised, and an alliance with Prussia would protect Russian interests.

Bismarck was anxious to secure at least the neutrality of Russia, and did this by promising to denounce the Black Sea clauses in the Treaty of Paris¹ to which Russia strongly objected.

[March, 1871. A Conference of the Powers in London cancelled the neutralisation of the Black Sea.]

(4) Great Britain.

Bismarck knew that Great Britain was busy with Gladstone's domestic reforms and would be unwilling to interfere on the continent.

British feeling was at first strongly hostile to France, who was regarded as the aggressor. Gladstone spoke of the "deep culpability" of France.

July 1873, 1874. Great Britain proclaimed her neutrality.

August, 1870. Granville, to whom Bismarck had revealed Napoleon's designs on Belgium, concluded treaties with France and Prussia to secure the independence of Belgium and later formed a League of Nations to prevent the extension of the war.

(5) Denmark.

Napoleon hoped to secure the support of Denmark, which would form a valuable base of operations against Prussia. But the Danes, although very anxious to regain Schleswig-Holstein,² declared their neutrality on July 29th, 1870, owing to the grave danger which might follow from hostile action against Prussia.

¹ Page 287.

² Page 278.

(5) General.

Thus, owing to Bismarck's skilful diplomacy and Napoleon's mistakes, France was isolated.

II. The Hohenzollern Candidature in Spain.

Napoleon, worn out by sickness, wished to maintain peace by establishing an agreement with Prussia. On June 30th, 1870, Olivier declared that "at no moment has the maintenance of peace in Europe been better secured." The War Party (led by the Emperor and Goyanet) made the Hohenzollern candidature in Spain the immediate cause of the Franco-German War.

A. Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen.

(1) The offer of the Spanish Throne.

September 25th, 1868. Deposition of Queen Isabella owing to a successful military rising under Siquero and Pym.

July 4th, 1870. The Spanish ministry decided to offer the crown to Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a distant relative of King William I, and, through the Marquis and Bismarckstein, a closer relative of Napoleon III. Leopold, with some reluctance, accepted the offer with the approval of King William, as head of the Hohenzollerns not as King of Prussia.

(2) French opposition.

Leopold's election, which the French thought would mean the establishment of Prussian influence in Spain, caused great indignation in Paris, where the newspapers violently attacked Prussia; Goyanet asserted on July 6th, 1870, that France would not permit "a foreign power" to place "one of its princes on the throne of Charles V." and declared that if necessary "we shall know how to do our duty without hesitation and without weakness."

(c) The withdrawal of Leopold.

July 12th, 1870. Partly owing to strong representations from Great Britain and Austria, which feared that the peace of Europe would be endangered if Leopold became King of Spain, the Prince withdrew his acceptance.

E. The French War Party and Bismarck cause the war.

Leopold's withdrawal ought to have ended the matter.

Bismarck had accepted that the question of Leopold's accession affected only the house of Hohenzollern and not Prussia, which had no official knowledge of the matter. But Gramont, who was convinced that Leopold's candidature had the support of Prussia, instructed Benedetti to secure from William I, who was at Ems, a definite promise that he would never authorise the renewal of Leopold's candidature.

July 13th, 1870. In an interview with Benedetti King William refused to give an absolute promise that he would never support any similar proposals coming from Leopold, and sent Benedetti a letter formally confirming Leopold's withdrawal.

July 13th, 1870. The King sent "the Ems telegram" to Bismarck giving an account of his negotiations with Benedetti. Bismarck was anxious to cause war; he so altered the telegram that he made it appear as an insult to France, and published his version in the *North German Gazette*.

July 14th, 1870. "The Ems telegram" infuriated the Parisians. The War Party won over the Emperor. In the Assembly, where Thiers denounced war as "supremely imprudent," only ten voted against war. But the decision to declare war was the work of "a noisy minority" in Paris. Seventy-one out of eighty-seven departments disapproved.

July 15th, 1870. King William ordered the mobilisation of the troops of the North German Confederation.

III. The Opposing Forces and Plans of Campaign.

A. The French.

(1) The French forces.

a. Failure to carry out the Law of 1868.

The French army had recently shown great fighting ability in the Crimea, Mexico and Italy. Nominally conscription was in force, but substitution had made the army a professional force, and the re-engagement of time-expired men tended to diminish the supply of vigorous soldiers. The Military Law of 1868,¹ which would have provided an army of 300,000 men and established National Guards, had not been properly carried out; and the army reserves which the National Guard would have supplied were not available. Niel's plan of fortifying the eastern frontiers, of organising the railways to facilitate the transport of troops, had been dropped by Lobaud.

b. Lack of organisation.

The officers were out of touch with the army; over-centralisation destroyed the initiative of commanders in the field; the details of concentration were not worked out.

c. Transport broke down.

Transport broke down; regiments were not localised, and soldiers had to travel far to their depots; the railway service was completely disorganised, "a party of hospital attendants bound for the eastern front arrived in Algeria."²

(2) The French plan of campaign.

The French army consisted of about 200,000 men and, in order to counteract the superior forces of

¹ Page 268.

² Terry.

Germany, Napoleon properly decided to cross the Upper Rhine and invade Southern Germany in the hope that a French victory might detach the South German States from Prussia and induce Austria, Italy and perhaps Denmark to support France.

Napoleon proposed to assemble 150,000 men at Metz—the Army of Alsace, and 100,000 at Strasbourg—the Army of the Rhine; to cross the Rhine near Strasbourg with the combined armies and to invade Baden; a reserve of 50,000 men was to be stationed under Canrobert at Châlons. He proposed to use the French Navy, which was much superior to the German, in the Baltic, and to send 30,000 men to land in Denmark.

Divided councils weakened the French. The Emperor, who at first acted as Commander-in-Chief, was too ill to direct the campaign; Bazaine and MacMahon failed to act in unison.

B. Germany.

(1) Forces.

a. Numbers.

A universal system of conscription was rigorously enforced in the North German Confederation and, to a somewhat less extent, in Southern Germany; a field army of about 400,000 men was available at once. The reserve forces were well organized, and supplied about 112,000 men at the outbreak of war. The German artillery was superior to the French.

b. Organization and transport.

Regiments were localized and local disputes facilitated speedy mobilization; the railways were well organized and the transport of men and stores effective.

(2) Plan of campaign.

Three armies were formed. The First Army of 60,000 men under Bismarck was to move up the Moselle; the Second Army of 204,000 men under Prince Frederick Charles was to march on Metz and connect the First Army with the Third. The First and Second Armies were drawn from the North German Confederation. The Third Army of 150,000 men, chiefly South Germans under the Crown Prince Frederick, was to operate on the Rhine and march on Strasbourg.

Moltke's dispositions would enable him to fall on the flank of invading French armies, the junction of which would be hindered by the Vosges Mountains; if successful, the Prussians were to advance on Paris.

Moltke was Commander-in-Chief and gave unity to the German operations.

IV. The First Period—to the Battle of Sedan.

Owing to the important part played by Napoleon this period has been called *la guerre napoléonienne*.

A. Failure of the French plan of campaign.

Rapidity of movement was essential but mobilisation was delayed, partly by difficulties of transport and the breakdown of the commissariat, partly perhaps owing to the bodily and mental weakness of Napoleon. When he arrived at Metz on July 18th, 1870, "he found that there was not a single corps in a condition to take the field."¹ Instead of invading Germany the French had to act on the defensive.

B. Alsace and Lorraine, August 2nd-6th.

Moltke resumed the offensive and attacked the French through the Palatinates.

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*.

(1) The battles.

August 2nd, 1870. Frossard drove a small German force out of Soufrierchère. The only French victory in *la guerre impériale*.

August 4th, 1870. The Crown Prince's Third Army routed the Army of Alsace at Wissemburg.

August 6th, 1870. The Crown Prince routed MacMahon at Wörth and the Italian Army of Alsace fell back towards Châlons.

August 8th, 1870. The German First and Second Armies routed Frossard at Spicheren in Lorraine.

(2) General.

In these operations the German cavalry were skillfully used for reconnaissance; lack of co-ordinate action prevented the French from using reinforcements which might have given them victory, particularly at Spicheren, where "60,000 French infantry had remained passive throughout the day, within reach of the battle-field"; the opportune arrival of their reinforcements contributed to the success of the Germans, but, although victorious, the Germans lost more in killed and wounded than the French, who deployed the greatest courage; nightfall prevented the Germans from following up their victories at Wörth and Spicheren.

(3) Results.

These battles showed the loyalty of the South German States to the German cause; finally secured the neutrality of Austria and Italy; obtained the possibility of a French diversion in the Baltic; gave Germany most of Alsace and Lorraine; depressed the French troops; led to the Renunciation of the Emperor, the fall of Orléans, the appointment of Gallieni as his successor, and the calling up of the Garde Mobile; created the withdrawal of French troops from Rome.

B. The French Army of the Rhine.

The Crown Prince was marching through the Vosges to bring the Third Army into line with the First and Second, and the general German advance was delayed to give time for this operation. Bazaine had an unbroken army of 173,000 men at Metz. He ought to have either to have fortified the line of the Moselle, or to have fallen back to effect a junction at Verdun with MacMahon marching from Châlons. But the vacillation of Napoleon, who was unwilling to leave Metz prevented prompt action, and when, on August 15th the Emperor surrendered, the supreme command to Bazaine, the Germans were near at hand. They wished to shut Bazaine up in Metz and to prevent his junction with MacMahon.

(1) Bazaine fails to retreat.

Bazaine now gave up the idea of holding the line of the Moselle and ordered the army to fall back at Verdun.

August 14th, 1870. At Bervy a battle was fought between Von der Goltz and Bazaine which somewhat delayed the French retreat and gave time to the army of Prince Frederick Charles to come up.

August 16th, 1870. The battles of Vionville and Mars-la-Tour prevented Bazaine's forces from retreating to the South-West.

He could still have retreated along the northern route, but much importance was attached to the defence of Metz and he failed to make the requisite advance to the North which would probably have enabled him to save his army.

August 18th, 1870. The battle of Gravelotte. Steinmetz had been joined by Frederick Charles. Bazaine's failure to utilize his reserves, and the efficiency of the Prussian artillery, account for his defeat and the consequent loss of a line of retreat to the North-West.

[5] Metz besieged.

Bismarck now shut himself up in Metz with 175,000 men. The First and Second German Armies, commanded by Frederick Charles, who replaced Bismarck, and numbering 200,000 men, invested Metz. The Third German Army, under the Crown Prince, marched towards Paris; a Fourth Army, the Army of the Rhine, under the Crown Prince of Saxony, supported the Crown Prince.

C. Sedan.

MacMahon had formed at Châlons a new army, composed largely of fugitives and badly equipped. He wished to march towards Paris and unite all the French forces to check the advance of the Crown Prince. But, owing to the direct order of the Emperor, who thought that such a march would lead to a rising in Paris where the relief of Metz was regarded as essential, MacMahon countermanded "the fatal march to the Meuse, which was to lead to the downfall of the Empire." He thought that Bismarck would break out of Metz and hoped to join him at Montmédy.

MacMahon soon saw the impossibility of joining Bismarck and rightly proposed to retreat on Paris. But Faidherb telegraphed: "If you desert Bismarck there will be a revolution in Paris."

August 30th, 1870. MacMahon was defeated at Bapaume and his passage through the Ardennes cut off.

September 1st, 1870. The Third German Army had joined the Army of the Meuse. MacMahon's army was surrounded by the Germans, whose artillery occupied the heights of Sedan, "battered into a triangle with sides about four miles in length," and utterly routed with a loss of 32,000 men.

September 2nd, 1870. Surrender of Napoleon III and 81,000 men.

V. The Second Period of the War.

Sedan was followed by the flight of the Emperor, the proclamation on September 4th, 1870, of the Third Republic and the establishment of a Government of National Defence with General Trochu as President, Jules Favre as Minister of War and Gambetta as Minister of the Interior. Thiers, who objected to the Republic, tried to secure the help of Great Britain, Russia, Austria and Italy.

The Germans determined to secure Alsace and Lorraine but Bismarck declared, "We desire peace; but if [the King of Prussia] continues this unjust war, we will fight to the end. We will not yield an inch of French soil, nor a stone of French fortresses."

The Second Period was the period of national resistance. "France, invaded and deprived of her regular army, resolved to save her honour." But the country was not organized for war; the Imperial military organization was rotten to the core; hastily improvised armies proved ultimately ineffective although their gallant efforts surprised the Germans; there were few trained leaders; the supply and transport services were hopelessly deficient.

A. The Siege of Paris.

Negotiations between Bismarck and Favre at Ferrières broke down because Bismarck insisted on the cession of Alsace and Lorraine.

September 19th, 1870. The advance guard of the Germans defeated some French troops at Châtillon and took Versailles. The investment of Paris began.

(1) Difficulties of the Germans.

The German task was difficult. At first they had only 147,000 men to besiege and hold a circle of 800 miles around Paris, for 400,000 men were held up by the siege of Metz and large forces were besieging Troy and

Strasbourg; the national feeling of France was roused, pacific warfare began, France threw out of her ranks soldiers and the Germans found great difficulty in securing supplies.

(3) The position of Paris.

Paris had been fortified by Thiers about 1840; it was protected by fifteen forts equipped with guns brought from the fleet; the garrison consisted of 80,000 soldiers, sailors and police, 115,000 Gardes Mobiles and 100,000 National Guards; the city had provisions for about four months.

If Paris and Metz could hold out successful resistance might be organised in the provinces and particularly on the Loire.

(4) The Capture of Metz.

September 23rd, 1870. The Germans took Toul.

September 28th, 1870. The Germans took Strasbourg.

October 27th, 1870. Surrender of Bazaine at Metz with 6000 officers, 173,000 men and 400 pieces of artillery.

Bazaine ought to have broken through the besieging army at all cost; the efforts he made were half-hearted; he ultimately surrendered owing to famine—his large army had consumed his stores. His inaction was due to distrust of the new republican government and to the hope that if he kept his army intact he would become arbiter of the destinies of France; he asked King William for permission to evacuate Metz in order to use his army to restore the Empire, but the Emperor refused to agree to the cession of Alsace and Lorraine on which William insisted. Bazaine was later tried by court-martial and sentenced to death for treason, but the sentence was not carried out.

If Bazaine had held out another fortnight the besiegers of Paris would have been seriously embarrassed. Some of the German troops released by the

capture of Metz went to Paris, where the German forces numbered 250,000 men and 900 guns in the early part of November; others under Manteuffel marched against Andernach; Prince Frederick Charles moved towards the Loire.

Werder led an army from Strasbourg against Belfort.

(4) The Fall of Paris.

November 28th–December 4th, 1870. Unsuccessful sortie of Duroch, who reached the Marne, but failed in his effort to effect a junction with the Army of the Loire.

December 27th, 1870. Moltke, having with difficulty collected the vast stores of guns and ammunition necessary for the purpose, started the bombardment of the forts and, on January 5th, 1871, of the town of Paris.

January 19th, 1871. Failure of a sortie of 100,000 men towards Versailles.

The failure of all efforts to relieve Paris and acute famine led, on January 28th, 1871, to the capitulation of Paris. An armistice for three weeks was concluded. The forts were surrendered, the guns of the fortifications dismantled; the regular soldiers, but not the National Guard, disarmed.

A National Assembly was to meet at Bordeaux to decide the question of peace and war.

[September 18th, 1870. Russia denounced the Black Sea clauses of the Treaty of Paris.]

B. The War in the Provinces.

The main object of the military operations in the provinces was to relieve the siege of Paris.

(1) The Loire.

a. Gambetta.

October 7th, 1870. Gambetta escaped from Paris in a balloon, replaced the feeble Orléanist at Tours, put down Communist movements at Lyons and Marseilles and "carried the fight

with him like a whirlwind." He divided France into four military districts with centres at Lille, Le Mans, Bourges and Besançon. He raised an army of 200,000 men in four months.

October 11th, 1870. Von der Tann, striking at Bourges, took Orléans but was too weak to advance further. Warden from Strasbourg and Prince Frederick Charles from Metz were making for the Loire.

b. *Armée des Palatins.*

(i) *Conduin.*

November 9th, 1870. *Armée des Palatins* routed Von der Tann at Conduin and re-captured Orléans, but could not advance against the German army at Paris owing to the inexperience and disorganisation of his newly-raised forces.

(ii) *Bessière à Reims.*

November 26th, 1870. *Palatins*, trying to force his way to Paris through the army of Frederick Charles which blocked the Orléans-Paris road, was defeated at Bessière à Reims.

(iii) *Loigny.*

December 2nd, 1870. *Palatins*, trying to co-operate with Ducrot, who was making a sortie from Paris, was routed by Frederick Charles at Loigny.

December 4th, 1870. The Germans re-captured Orléans. Removal of the French Provisional Government to Bordeaux.

a. *Chenay.*

The Army of the Loire was now thoroughly disorganised but Chanzy rallied the western portion and fell back on Le Mans.

January 10th-12th, 1871. Final defeat of the Army of the Loire under Chanzy at Le Mans by Frederick Charles.

(3) *The North.*

Manteuffel had taken Amiens on November 27th, and Reims on December 5th; he was threatening Havre, through which the French imported much of their war material.

Faidherbe recaptured Amiens and held his own against Manteuffel on the Hallue on December 21st, 1870.

The retreat of Bourbaki, who had failed to relieve Belfort, and the defeat of Chanzy left only Faidherbe to threaten the Germans who were besieging Paris. He hoped to co-operate with Trochu who planned a sortie for January 19th.

Faidherbe was finally defeated at St. Quentin on January 19th, 1871.

(4) *The East.*

A new plan of campaign arranged that Bourbaki, commanding the eastern portion of the Army of the Loire, should march eastwards, combine with Garibaldi's forces at Lyons, raise the siege of Belfort and attack the German lines of communication, while Chanzy co-operated in the West and Faidherbe in the North. This excellent plan failed mainly owing to the lack of mobility of the disorganised and inexperienced Army of the Loire, partly because Garibaldi failed to give efficient assistance.

Manteuffel drove Bourbaki across the Swiss frontier February 2nd, 1871. Bourbaki's army of 80,000 was disarmed by the Swiss.

February 19th, 1871. *Surrender of Belfort*, which had been most gallantly defended for 106 days by Colonel Durbert-Rochermon.

VI. The End of the War.

February 13th, 1871. The National Assembly met at Bordeaux and the Government of National Defence resigned. The dictatorship of Gambetta came to an end and the Assembly elected Thiers President of the Republic.

A. The Treaty of Frankfurt.

(1) Preliminaries.

February 26th, 1871. Preliminaries of peace arranged between Thiers and Bismarck provided that—

- a. France should cede to Germany Alsace (except Belfort), Eastern Lorraine (including Metz and Thionville).
- b. France should pay a war indemnity of 5,000,000,000 francs (2200,000,000).
- c. German troops should occupy part of Paris until the preliminaries were confirmed by the Assembly.
- d. Thiers failed to save Alsace and Lorraine but secured Belfort and induced Bismarck to reduce the indemnity from six to five milliard francs. Thirty thousand Germans occupied the Champs Elysees on March 1st, 1871, but retired on March 3rd on learning that the Assembly had confirmed the preliminaries on March 1st by 546 votes to 137.

(2) The End of the War.

May 10th, 1871. The Treaty of Frankfurt formally ended the war.

B. The Commune.

The Committee of National Defence had been hampered by the turbulence of the Paris mob and had put down riots, supported by the National Guard, on October 3rd, 1870, and January 22nd, 1871. The admission of the Germans into Paris, the decision of the Bordeaux Assembly to sit at Versailles and not Paris,

the refusal of the Assembly to continue the small pay of the National Guards who could not obtain work, roused the Parisians.

The Parisians moved cannon into Montmartre and Belleville. March 18th, 1871, the National Guard joined the mob, who shot General Lecomte and Clément Thomas.

March 18th, 1871. A Revolutionary Committee established itself at the Hôtel de Ville. The Commune, which showed strong evidence of Socialist influence, on April 30th, 1871, demanded that the government of France should be Communal Federation.

May 31st-29th, 1871. "Bloody week." The regular army of Versailles put down the Commune after three fighting during which the Hôtel de Ville, Tuileries and Palais de Justice were burnt. Archbishop Darboy was killed and at least 20,000 Parisians were killed or executed.

VII. Results of the War.

A. France.

The Third Republic was established, although for a time there seemed a possibility of the re-establishment of a liberal Monarchy. The Revolutionary and Socialist party was broken but memories of the Commune, embittered party feeling.

The creation of Alsace and Lorraine, in spite of the wishes of the inhabitants, seemed contrary to the theory of the sovereignty of the people on which the government of France was ultimately based, and aroused the desire for revenge which embittered the relations between Germany and France and formed one of the causes of the Great War of 1914.

B. Prussia.

January 18th, 1871. King William I of Prussia proclaimed Gottfried Meissner at Verdun. The war greatly helped to make Germany a united nation which

under the leadership of Prussia, "from its birth could proudly claim to be the first military power in the world."

C. Italy.

September 28th, 1870. The Italian troops entered Rome, from which the French had withdrawn. But Pius IX refused to unite with the Italian Government to "establish a free Church in a free State" and the attitude of the Pope strengthened the spiritual influence of the Papacy.

D. Russia.

Russia had denounced the Black Sea clauses of the Treaty of Paris.¹

March, 1871. A Conference of the Powers held in London—

- a. Asserted that no European treaty could be modified by the action of only one party to that treaty.
- b. Cancelled the neutralisation of the Black Sea.
- c. Allowed Turkey to open the straits to the warships of friendly powers.

Great Britain had been compelled, somewhat ignorantly, to accede to the demands of Russia, but claimed that Russia had been obliged to renounce her claim to abrogate treaties made by the Powers.

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¹ Page 268.

SECTION IV
GERMANY AND AUSTRIA,
1840-1871

GERMANY AND PRUSSIA, 1840-1850

I. General Conditions, 1840-1848.

A. *Liberalism.*

(1) *A period of repression.*

The development of German Liberalism was hampered by the sub-division of the country and the policy of Russia which favoured such sub-division as a means of preventing the aggrandisement of Prussia and Austria; by the personal popularity of Frederick William III. who did not fulfil his promise¹ to grant a constitution to Prussia, which under him remained an absolute and bureaucratic monarchy with aristocratic provincial estates; by the definite opposition of Frederick William III and Metternich to Liberalism; by the steady support given to absolutism by bureaucrats and armies.

(2) *The revival of Liberalism.*

After 1840 Liberalism gained strength, partly owing to the influence of political refugees from France and Switzerland, the ability of young journalists such as Karl Marx and the teaching of Hegel. It aimed at the union of Germany, at the establishment of constitutional rule in every state. The demands of the constitutional party were well illustrated in Baden, where

¹ Page 118.

In 1847 demands were made for the freedom of the press, trial by jury, religious equality, equal taxation, the responsibility of the ministry and the abolition of feudal obligations.

(2) *General discontent.*

General discontent was increased by—

- a. Differences between Protectionist and Free Trade parties in the Zollverein.
- b. The claims of the Ultramontane party, particularly in the Prussian Rhine Province, Bavaria and Southern Baden.
- c. Economic differences, particularly in the Rhine Province, where the influence of the French occupation had given the people a wider political outlook, and in Silesia, where distress among the weavers led to a rising in 1844. In rural districts the peasants demanded the abolition of feudal services and the game laws. The growth of Socialism led to demands at Baden for a progressive income tax and better relations between capital and labour; in 1848 the Russian ambassador reported that the peasants of Silesia were "grievously with communism."
- d. In Bavaria the relations between King Louis and Lola Meyer caused great resentment. The Elector of Hesse, the King of Württemberg and the King of Hanover were conspicuous for their opposition to Liberalism.

B. *The Accession of Frederick William IV, 1840.*

June 26, 1840. The accession of Frederick William IV brought Prussia back again into the German movement. The character of the King, the vigorous life of

the people and the State, and the development of Liberalism in other countries encouraged Liberals to hope for constitutional development in Prussia.

Frederick William IV was a man of great learning, noble character and high aspirations. He was strongly opposed both to bureaucratic absolutism and to the doctrines of the French Revolution. He was essentially romantic; his outlook was mediæval; he wished to revive the Holy Roman Empire under the leadership of Austria and was willing to subordinate to this ideal the individual interests of the separate German states. He believed that "I hold my crown in gift of Almighty God"; that he was responsible to God alone and that it was his duty to rule "in accordance with custom and with the aid of his subjects grouped in their traditional classes."

II. Unrest in the Smaller States.

The movement in favour of constitutional development in the smaller States was greatly stimulated by the February Revolution in Paris.¹ It was strengthened by the insurrection in Berlin,² which received a powerful influence from the rising in Vienna.³

A. Saxony.

August, 1848. The suspicion that Prince John favoured the Jesuits led to a riot at Leipzig.

1848. By this time Revolutionary Clubs had spread in Saxony. The most famous was the Leipzig Club of which Robert Blum was a leading member.

B. Baden.

In Baden, which was strongly influenced by Sympson and French gilligery, the Liberals secured office in 1848.

¹ Page 228.

² Page 215.

³ Page 148.

Their success was followed by "the first separation in Germany between the Liberal and Radical democratic parties and . . . this parting of the ways in Baden prepared the events which marked the rise of the German Revolution."¹

1848. The peasants of Southern Baden proclaimed a Republic.

March, 1848. The Grand Duke was compelled to grant a constitution on the lines of the Baden Resolutions which had been formulated by the Liberals and became a model to other States.

C. Hesse-Cassel.

March, 1848. The new Elector was compelled to accept a purely constitutional form of government.

D. Bavaria.

February, 1848. Expulsion of Lola Montez from Bavaria.

March 20th, 1848. King Louis abdicated and his successor granted many of the demands of the Liberals and admitted some Liberals to the ministry.

E. Nassau.

The rising in Nassau was largely the work of the peasants, who secured the repeal of game and forest laws and for a time secured the control of local government.

F. Hanover.

March, 1848. The King of Hanover granted the Baden scheme of reform and appointed a Liberal Ministry.

III. Prussia.

In **1848** Frederick William IV relaxed the censorship of the press and gave teaching appointments at Berlin

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*.

and Bonn to the brothers Giers and Dohmanna, who had been punished for their support of the Liberal cause.

A. Parliamentary Representation.

1840. The Rhine Province, strongly influenced by the parliamentary government of Belgium, and Prussia petitioned Frederick William IV to assure to his people an assembly "of the representatives of the country." The King promised to extend the work of the Provincial Estates. Prince William of Prussia¹ strongly opposed the extension of constitutional rights.

The idea of Prussian nationality was strengthened by the fear of French aggression which would endanger the Rhine Province. Becker's song *Der freie deutsche Rhein* and Schreierdinger's *Die Wacht am Rhein* were written about this time.

B. The United Diet, 1847.

The development of railways, particularly in East Prussia, necessitated a State loan for which an assembly of elected representatives was essential. In spite of the warnings of Nicholas I and Metternich and the protests of Prince William the King summoned the United Diet, April 11th, 1847. Meeting of the United Diet at Berlin.

(1) Constitution and Powers.

It was a union of the Estates of Prussia and consisted of two chambers, one of nobles and one of burghers and peasants. The King limited its functions to the voting of new taxation and the presentation of petitions; he reserved the right of calling future meetings at his pleasure. A small standing committee was appointed to investigate critically the finances of the State and, if necessary, to vote State loans for military purposes.

Afterwards William I.

Committees from the separate Provincial Diets were to meet every four years to draft laws.

(2) *The King's position.*

The King's action was an attempt to evade the fulfilment of the promise of constitutional government made by Frederick William III in 1815, by extending the mediæval system of Estates. In his opening speech he pronounced against a written constitution: "Never will I allow a written document to come between God in Heaven and this land, to govern us with its formalities and take the place of ancient loyalty," and asserted that the King of Prussia, "in accordance with the law of God and of the land, governs in obedience to his own decisions freely made, and not at the prompting of majorities."

(3) *Disappointment of the Liberals.*

The Liberals, who had hoped to secure some measure of parliamentary representation, regarded the King's attitude as a declaration of absolutism; the King refused to grant the petition of the Diet for liberty of the press. The representatives of the Rhine Province and East Prussia led the opposition and demanded regular sessions; the proposal to delegate the functions of Parliament to Committees was strongly resented; the bills to establish land banks and to finance railway development were thrown out but the Committees were elected.

(4) *The Dissolution of the Diet.*

June 20th, 1847. The King dissolved the Diet.

The Diet showed the gulf between the King and the Liberals, who combined with their loyalty to the Crown a determination to secure constitutional government. The dissolution aggravated popular discontent.

C. The Revolution in Berlin, 1848.

(1) The Royal Proclamation of March 18th, 1848.

Discontent in Berlin was increased by the news of the February Revolution in Paris and by the Vienna Rising on March 13th. The presence of a number of Poles and other aliens aggravated the danger of revolt.

March 18th, 1848. Frederick William IV, alarmed by the danger of revolution, promised that the United Diet should meet periodically and removed restrictions on the press. By admitting the need of "a constitutional organisation of all the German States" he receded from his former position of opposition to constitutional development.

(2) The "March Days."

March 18th, 1848. A skirmish before the Royal Palace between the crowd and the soldiers was followed by the erection of barricades and a general insurrection. Two hundred and sixteen victims and eighteen troops were killed.

March 19th, 1848. In his proclamation "An meine lieben Berliner" the King promised to withdraw his troops if the people left their barricades. On the demand of the mob he withdrew the troops who guarded the Palace and allowed the rioters to take arms from the Arsenal. The King saluted the bodies of the dead rioters as they were carried past the Palace. During the night the troops evacuated the barracks in Berlin. The civic guard became masters of the city and government.

March 21st, 1848. The King, wearing the red Akse and gold of the Holy Roman Empire, headed a liberal procession through the streets.

He issued a proclamation "To my people and the German nation," and declared himself in favour of a new constitutional system, including a single National Assembly elected by universal suffrage, with respect

noble ministers, and equality in civil and political rights." He believed that Germany would support him and said that "Prussia is merged in Germany."

March 22nd, 1848. The King visited the funerals of rioters although he took no part in the funerals of soldiers who had fought for him.

Prince William, nicknamed "The Cartridge Prince," because he had urged the soldiers to "shoot the dogs down," fled from Berlin.

(3) Results.

The King had surrendered to the revolution and assumed the part of a constitutional king at the head of a national movement. But his action had humiliated the Hohenzollerns; roused the suspicion of Austria, which protested against the possible establishment of Prussian supremacy in Germany, and of the Southern States; failed to conciliate the Liberals, who considered the advisability of deposing him in favour of his grandson Frederick; estranged the aristocratic landholding *Junkers*.

D. The Prussian Constituent Assembly. May to November, 1848.

A second United Prussian Diet which met on April 2nd, 1848, organised a Constituent Prussian Assembly to frame a new constitution.

May 22nd, 1848. Meeting of the Constituent Assembly of 402 members chosen by indirect election and consisting largely of lawyers, professors, clergymen and about a hundred workmen and peasants. The Assembly had to face the hostility of the King, the army and the bourgeoisie. It could rely upon the protection of the civil guard of Berlin.

(4) Parties.

Three distinct parties appeared in the National Assembly.

a. The Left.

The Left, composed mainly of representatives from the Rhine Province and the large towns, was radical and democratic and wished to maintain the sovereignty of the people. It favoured the establishment of a German federal government superior to the governments of individual states.

b. The Right.

The Right consisted of *Junkers* drawn from the great landowners and was conservative and particularist. It wished to maintain class privileges and to keep Prussia independent; it held meetings in Berlin called the *Junker parliament* "for the protection of property." Otto von Bismarck, "who represented the severest spirit of royalism and aristocracy," was already a prominent *Junker*; the *Starn Zeitung* was the organ of the party.

c. The Centre.

The Centre party was liberal, royalist and national. It favoured a federal union of which Prussia should be an independent member. It advocated the establishment of a constitution modelled on that of Belgium, with two chambers to which the ministry was to be responsible; but the suffrage, which in Belgium depended on a property qualification, was to be universal and elections were to be indirect.

(3) The Dissolution of the Constituent Assembly.

The King could rely on the army; he tended more and more to lean towards the *Junkers* and resisted the attempts of the Assembly to support the *Liberal* cause. The Assembly therefore relied more and more on the Left.

September 7th, 1848. The King refused the demand of the Assembly that army officers who refused to abstain from military measures should lose their commissions.

The King now dismissed his Liberal ministers and made General Wrangel, a reactionary, Governor of Brandenburg.

The King refused to sanction the vote of the Assembly which deleted the words " By the grace of God " from the royal title.

Encouraged by the capture of Vienna by the Emperor's forces on October 31st, 1848, Frederick William IV made his uncle, Count Brandenburg, President of his ministry and resolved to use his army against the Assembly.

November 6th, 1848. The Assembly was transferred to Brandenburg and the next day Wrangel's army occupied Berlin.

December 6th, 1848. The Assembly, which had vainly tried to check the King by refusing to grant taxes, was dissolved.

IV. The Constitution of 1850.

December 6th, 1848. The King published a new constitution which was accepted by the Landtag in 1850.

A. The Assembly.

It established an Assembly¹ consisting of two chambers, the Chamber of Deputies,² elected by universal suffrage, and a House of Lords,³ the members of which were to be hereditary or nominated by the Crown. The Crown possessed Executive power and shared Legislative power with the Assembly.

¹ *Terry, A Short History of Europe*, page 308.

² *Neue Verfassung*.

³ *Hereditary*.

B. The Suffrage.

A new election law issued by the king limited universal suffrage.

(1) The Three Class System.

It instituted the "three class system," which divided voters into three classes according to the taxation they paid and gave a larger proportion of votes to the richer classes.

(2) Open Voting.

The ballot was abolished, voting was *vis-à-vis* and every man's vote was recorded.

V. General.

Thus the King had re-established the power of the monarchy based on the strong support of the army and bureaucracy which had survived the shock of the Revolution. The constitution of 1859 was affected by new election laws, by the tendency of the House of Lords to check the action of the House of Deputies; the freedom of the press and the right of public meeting were limited; the nobles regained some of their old privileges, e.g. police jurisdiction in their estates; the Provincial Estates were restored.

But the King was compelled to respect constitutional forms and he himself had "introduced once for all 1848 Prussia all the revolutionary institutions condemned by his own ideal—a written constitution, popular representation, and even universal suffrage."¹

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 Haisman, chaps. XIV.
A Short History of Europe (Terry), Routledge, pp. 252-261.
Germany (Farr and Wilkinson), Cambridge University
 Press, Vol. I, chap. VI.

¹ Seignobos, page 427.

THE PROBLEM OF THE GERMAN NATION, 1848

I. The *Staatsbund*.

The conversion of the loose German *Staatsbund*, or Confederation of States, established in 1815, into a *Bundestag*, or Federal State, formed an essential part of the Liberal Programme.

The Diet, the only institution of the *Staatsbund*, was merely a meeting of diplomats; since 1840 it had been little more than a means of checking Liberal aims. There was no German army, no German law, no German church. National development was impossible, for the consent of every member of the *Staatsbund* was necessary for any change; an attempt made by Frederick William IV, in 1846, to strengthen the military organisation of the *Staatsbund* to resist possible French aggression was rejected owing to the fear of the other States that such military reorganisation would strengthen the influence of Prussia.

II. Growth of National Feeling.

A. General.

"National feeling had grown and the educated class felt that 'they wished to rise above the bondage of absolutism and police government,' against which the Liberals fought in individual States, 'into the higher and freer realm of German national life.'"

B. The Rhine.

This feeling was strengthened by the fear that France was determined to tear up the Treaty of 1815 and to regain the Rhine boundary; *Der Rhein am Rhein* was a German wag and not simply *Prussian*.

C. Prussia.

March 31st, 1848. Frederick William IV accepted the principle of a single national assembly for Germany.

D. Baden.

March, 1848. The composition of the "Baden Assembly" by the Grand Duke gave an impetus to the movement.

E. Schleswig-Holstein—Lauenburg.

The Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein belonged to the King of Denmark as Duke. The population of Holstein and Lauenburg, which became a member of the German Confederation in 1815, and of Southern Schleswig was German, that of Northern Schleswig Danish.

The Salic law of succession through males was in force in the Duchies but not in Denmark.

1846. Christian VIII, in view of the impending failure of male heirs, was anxious to maintain the union of the Duchies with Denmark, asserted the right of his sister Charlotte to succeed to Schleswig and Lauenburg and avowed his determination to keep Holstein a part of the Danish Monarchy. The Holstenians asserted that their Duchy was independent and hereditary in the male line only. On the ground of common nationality they appealed to the German Diet, which took no action.

January, 1848. Death of Christian VIII. His son and successor, Frederick VII, had no male children.

March 18th, 1848. Schleswig and Holstein, encouraged by the success of the French Revolution, formed a Provisional Government under the Duke of Augustenborg, and Frederick VII sent an army against them.

April 15th, 1848. The German Diet recognized the Provisional Government and, with its approval, Frederick William IV sent a Prussian army to aid the Danes.

The Schleswig-Holstein question greatly stimulated national feeling in Germany.

F. Foreign Influence.

The influence of the unsuccessful Polish rising of 1848, of the failure of the Swiss Sonderbund¹ in 1847, and still more the February Revolution² in Paris, strengthened the demand for Federal Government in Germany. The last prompted Liberals to hold meetings in which they demanded liberty of the press, a parliamentary system and a German national parliament.

References. (See page 320.)

THE FRANKFORT NATIONAL PARLIAMENT

I. The Vorparliament.

A. The Heidelberg Meeting.

March 31st, 1848. A meeting of Liberals at Heidelberg appointed a committee of seven which summoned a preparatory parliament (*Vorparlament*) of men who had served as deputies in any State to take measures for calling a National Parliament. The disturbances in Vienna³ and Berlin⁴ prevented Austria and Prussia from active opposition.

B. Dahlmann's Constitution.

The Diet of the Confederation, which was still sitting, accepted a constitution drawn up by Dahlmann, a Prussian delegate, which provided for the establishment of a Hereditary Empire and a Parliament of two chambers, and left a considerable measure of independence to individual States while giving the Empire

¹ Page 312.

² Page 346.

³ Page 229.

⁴ Page 326.

control of the army, diplomacy and customs. East and West Prussia, but only the Catholic territories of Austria, were to be included.

The scheme failed, largely owing to the opposition of Frederick William IV.

C. The *Vorparlament*.

March 31st to April 3rd, 1848. The *Vorparlament*, nicknamed the "Wild Parliament," met at Frankfurt. Of its 576 members Prussia supplied 141, Baden and Hesse-Darmstadt were well represented; Austria sent only two members.

The *Vorparlament* rejected a proposal of the Republicans that a Federal Constitution, similar to that of the United States should be established, but left to the proposed National Parliament the task of settling the constitution. It convoked a National Parliament consisting of a single chamber; one deputy was to be elected by universal suffrage from every 50,000 inhabitants in all German States within or without the Confederation.

II. Meeting of the National Parliament.¹

The elections were delayed by a Republican rising near Lake Constance, in April 1848, which was crushed by the troops of the Diet, and by the refusal of Bologna to elect delegates to a German Parliament.

May 18th, 1848. The National Parliament met in St. Paul's Church, Frankfurt. It was accepted by the Diet in the name of the Princes.

About 400 members out of a possible 600 attended the first meeting and later the attendance reached a maximum of about 550. Merchants, manufacturers and landowners were poorly represented, but a large number of University Professors and lawyers and a larger number

¹ *Particulars following.*

of officials attended. The work of the National Parliament suffered seriously from the lack of political experience of most of its members.

Holnrich von Gagern, minister of Hesse-Darmstadt, was elected President.

II. Parties in the National Parliament.

Right, Left and Centre parties were gradually formed and these included eleven groups each named after the hotels they frequented.

A. The Right.

The Right, the champions of the independence of the governments of individual States, was divided into three groups.

(1) The *Milieu*.

The *Milieu* were Protestant Conservatives from North Germany who claimed that each State should have a voice in the settlement of the constitution, and refused to acknowledge the executive authority of the National Parliament.

(2) The *Stove House*.

The *Stove House* were South German Catholics.

(3) The *Austrians*.

B. The Centre.

The Centre were the moderate party to whom the *Grundrechte* were largely due. They favoured a Federal Empire.

(1) The Right Centre.

The Right Centre numbered about 150 members, mostly North Germans.

- a. The *Saxony* supported State independence but thought that the Federal Government should control German military forces.

- b. The Centre recognized the authority of individual States but emphasized the need of national unity.

(2) *The Left Centre.*

The Left Centre, consisting chiefly of South Germans, included the *Württemberg Hof* and the *Augsburger Hof*.

c. *The Left.*

The Left included about 200 Republican members.

(1) *Wormsall and Nürnberg Hof.*

These were the moderate section of the Left. They supported the sovereignty of the people as represented by a national parliament elected by universal suffrage.

(2) *Frankfurt Hof and Democracy.*

These were Radicals who preached the doctrine of Liberty, Fraternity and Equality.

IV. Problems.

The problems which the National Parliament had to settle were: (1) the form of the Federal Government; (2) the territory to be included in the Federal State; (3) the Central Power.

A. *The Form of the Federal Government.*

(1) *Provisional Government.* The Regent of the Empire.

The National Parliament decided that, pending the settlement of the constitution, a Provisional Executive Government should be established to replace the Diet.

The suggestion that the Provisional Government should be a tripartite Directorate formed of representatives of Austria, Prussia and the Smaller States was considered but rejected.

June 28th, 1848. Congress passed a resolution that

the Executive should be a *Reichsverweser*, or Regent of the Empire, elected by the National Parliament. This resolution "vindicated the sovereignty of the nation as directly represented" by the Parliament, and ignored the authority of individual States.

June 29th, 1848. After Frederick William IV had been proposed without finding a second, the Archduke John of Austria was elected by 435 votes out of 548, in spite of the objection of the Radicals to the election of a Hapsburg prince, and of the Conservatives to the ignoring of the individual States.

July 11th, 1848. Arrived at Frankfurt of the Archduke John, who had been acknowledged as Regent of the Empire by the Princes of Germany and by the Diet of the Confederation which transferred its powers to him. He appointed a Ministry of the Empire and Imperial ambassadors to the Great Powers.

(2) The Constitution.

As a beginning the National Parliament discussed at great length the *Grundrechte* or fundamental rights of German citizens. The Liberals "secured the adoption of the principles of the Belgian constitution . . . equality before the law, judicial independence, communal autonomy, popular representation in each State, freedom of the press, of association, of religion, and of education."¹

December 27th, 1848. The Regent of the Empire, proclaimed the *Grundrechte* as law.

March 28th, 1849. The *Grundrechte* were incorporated in the Constitution of the Empire.

B. The Territory of the Empire.

The problem of the form of the Federal Government was settled largely by the union of the central party. But the central party broke up on the question of the Territory of the Empire, which proved insoluble.

Continued.

October 17th, 1848. The National Parliament had decided that non-German lands should not become members of the German Federal State. Both Prussia and Austria wished that all their territories should be incorporated, but both included non-German lands, in the former case Posen, in the latter Magyar, Slav and Italian territory.

The problem led to a new grouping of parties.

(1) The Big Germans.

The Big Germans, chiefly Austrians supported by the Catholics of South Germany who distrusted Prussia, advocated the inclusion of the whole of the Austrian Empire. This would have made Austria supreme in the Federal State owing to her old position as head of the Holy Roman Empire, her imperial title and the vast extent of her territories. It would have involved the weakening of Federal unity by the inclusion of so many non-German men.

(2) The Little Germans.

The Little Germans wished to exclude Austria altogether. This would have preserved German unity, which necessitated the inclusion of the German provinces of Austria. It would have ensured the supremacy of Prussia in a United Federal State.

Other suggestions were to split up Austria and include in the Federal State only the German territories of Austria; to form two federations, the smaller to include the latter to exclude Austria.

December 18th, 1848. But Austria, now greatly strengthened by the suppression of the revolts in Vienna and her victory at Comauna,² demanded the inclusion of all her territories in the Federal State and the dissolution of the National Parliament.

January 18th, 1849. The National Parliament authorised the Imperial Ministry to enter into discus-

² Page 311.

traffic relations with Austria as a foreign state. The Little Germans, supported by the Centre, had proved victorious over the Big Germans, supported by the Republicans, who wished to prevent the establishment of a German Monarchy.

C. The Central Power.

Owing to the long time devoted to academic discussions of the *Grundrechte*, the National Parliament did not begin its discussion of the Federal Constitution until October 18th, 1848. The problem of the Central Power was largely the problem whether Austria or Prussia was to be the head of the Federal State.

(1) The Legislature.

The Legislature was to consist of two chambers, the *Ständeversammlung* composed of delegates of the States, and the *Volkshaus* elected by universal suffrage and ballot.

(2) The Executive.

The Executive was to control foreign policy and the army, and to decide peace or war.

Even discussions took place as to the form of the Executive. The Extreme Left supported an Elective Presidency open to all Germans. The Extreme Right favoured the maintenance of the German Confederation. Some supported a Directory of Princes under the alternate presidency of Austria and Prussia. Austria demanded that a Directory of seven princes should be established.

The National Parliament finally decided that "the dignity of the supreme chief of the Empire should be entrusted to one of the reigning German princes."

March 4th, 1849. The further demand of Austria that the whole of her Empire should become members of the Federal State and should have thirty-eight out of seventy votes, caused strong resentment.

March 28th, 1849. The National Parliament declared the "Empire of the Germans" hereditary and elected Frederick William IV to the office.

(3) Limitations on the Constitution.

The Great Germans now made an alliance with the Left in the hope of weakening the constitution, and succeeded in making the veto of the Emperor suspensive and not absolute.

V. The Failure of the National Parliament.

A. Lack of Power.

The National Parliament lacked the power to enforce its decrees. "The great obstacle to its success was that it had nothing but moral force to rely upon; that it trusted to the enthusiasm of the people to triumph over the jealous interests of the princes and the deeply rooted tendencies to disorder."¹

The fate of Germany depended not upon the National Parliament but upon the military power of Prussia and Austria.

The Parliament's decrees ignored.

April 21st, 1849. Austria refused to give an unconditional promise to accept the decrees of the National Parliament.

July, 1849. The larger States disregarded the decree that all German troops should swear fidelity to the Imperial Vicer.

April, 1849. Twenty-eight States accepted the constitution but the kings of Bavaria, Württemberg, Saxony and Hanover repudiated the election of the King of Prussia. Austria asserted that the Emperor of Austria could accept no subordinate position and withdrew her representatives from the National Parliament.

¹ Lotze.

B. The Treaty of Malmœ.

In her war with Denmark¹ Prussia had been hampered by the ill-will of Great Britain, France and Russia, who objected to the addition of Danish territory to Germany ; Austria was too busily engaged in Italy to send help ; Wangel had met with some success but was threatened by Swedish troops which had landed in Jutland.

August 26th, 1848. Denmark refused to treat with the National Parliament but concluded the Treaty of Malmœ with Prussia, which received no authority from the National Parliament, by which a *Conférent Committee* consisted partly by Prussia and partly by Denmark superseded the Provisional Government in Schleswig-Holstein.

September 24th, 1848. Owing to resentment at the independent action of Prussia the National Assembly refused to ratify the Treaty.

September 16th, 1848. The National Assembly reversed its previous vote and ratified the Treaty.

Indignation at the weakness of the National Parliament, which was regarded as treachery to Germany, led the democrats to stir up riots in Frankfurt in which two Prussian deputies, Lichnowsky and Auerwald, were murdered.

September 18th, 1848. The rioting was crushed by Prussian and Austrian soldiers.

The National Assembly had capitulated to Prussia ; fear of further risings strengthened the reactionary party.

C. Frederick William IV refused the Imperial Crown.

April 3rd, 1849. Frederick William refused the Imperial Crown because—

- (1) He hated the democrats to whom the offer was largely due, he refused to "pick up a crown out of the road," and said "to Democrates the only answer is bullets."

- (2) He honestly thought that the Empire ought to be restored to Austria.
- (3) He would accept the crown only if offered by the princes, and the opposition of the four Kings and Austria made this impossible.
- (4) His acceptance of the crown would have committed Prussia to an alliance with the Democrats against both the Kings and the Republicans; it might have involved a war with Austria supported by the Catholic States of South Germany.
- (5) Many Prussians felt that if Frederick William accepted the Imperial Crown, Prussia would find it more difficult to develop her own constitution.
- (6) Frederick William feared that the Czar would resent his acceptance of the crown.

"The Imperial crown was the Keystone of the arch of the German Constitution." The refusal of the King to accept the crown; his rejection on April 21st, 1849, of the Federal Constitution, which had been ratified by the National Parliament on April 11th; and the withdrawal of the Prussian delegates on May 18th completely paralysed the National Parliament.

May, 1849. Revolutionary risings, provoked by the refusal of Prussia to accept the constitution, broke out in Baden, where a Provisional Government was set up, and Saxony. Prussian troops suppressed these and jointly exterminated the Republican party in Southern Germany.

VI. The End of the National Parliament.

A. The Bump.⁹

The withdrawal of representatives from most of the States left the National Parliament a mere Bump of 108 Republican members from South Germany.

May 29th, 1849. The Bump migrated to Stuttgart.

June 1848, 1849. The Rump was formally dissolved by the Württemberg Government.

September 30th, 1849. By the Compact of the Interior Austria and Prussia undertook the functions which still remained to the Central Power; the Archduke John resigned to them his authority as Viceroy of the Empire.

B. General.

The National Parliament had failed to realise the destiny of Germany by establishing a Federal State, largely owing to the rivalry between Austria and Prussia. Lack of practical statesmanship prevented its supporters from realising their ideal. The conditions of the time were unfavourable and Bismarck rightly said that the union of Germany could not be effected "with speeches and celebrations and songs, but only with blood and iron."

But the National Parliament had given an impetus to German unity and part of its scheme was carried into effect in 1871.

References:

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XI, chap. vi.

A Political History of Contemporary Europe (Belgachos).

Holtzmann, page 361 *et seq.*

AUSTRIA AND PRUSSIA, 1849-1861

Frederick William IV now undertook the task of forming "a closer 'Union' between Prussia and the purely German States, and a perpetual offensive and defensive alliance between this Union and the Austrian Monarchy."¹ Schwarzenberg strongly opposed the idea and wished to revive the old Federal Diet, but Prussia had gained prestige by suppressing the revolts in Baden and Saxony, and Austria was at war with Hungary and Serbia.

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. XI, page 326.

I. The Berlin Programme, May, 1848.

May 17th, 1848. At a Conference held by his invitation at Berlin Frederick William explained his new scheme to the representatives of Austria, Saxony, Bavaria and Hanover.

A. The Programme.

- (1) That Prussia should be President of a College of Princes with control of the foreign and military policy of the Union and the power of vetoing the decrees of the Federal Parliament.
- (2) That a Federal Parliament should be formed consisting of two chambers.

The Austrian ambassador withdrew on finding that Austria was to be excluded from the Union; the Bavarian ambassador objected to the proposed supremacy of Prussia.

B. The Three Kings' League.¹

May 26th, 1848. The Kings of Saxony and Hanover, who feared to oppose Prussia, accepted the new constitution and made with Prussia the Three Kings' League to put it into effect. The Kings of Württemberg and Bavaria refused to join, but seventeen of the smaller States accepted the proposals.

C. The Göttingen Parliament.

June 28th, 1848. One hundred and fifty of the members of the late Frankfurt Parliament, including Gagner and Dahlmann, expressed their approval of Frederick William's plan.

Frederick William ought now to have arranged for the early election of the Federal Parliament but, shrewdly refusing to take advantage of Austria's difficulties, he delayed the elections until January 21st, 1851.

¹ Dreikönigsbund.

D. Growing Opposition.

(1) Secession of Hanover and Saxony.

The Kings of Hanover and Saxony withdrew from the Three Kings' League and the Union now consisted only of Prussia and the Smaller States.

(2) Opposition in Prussia.

The *Junkers*, led by Bismarck, continued their opposition to a policy which they thought would subordinate the interests of Prussia to those of the German States, while some of the Liberals still favoured the Frankfurt Constitution, a resolution in favour of which was passed by the Lower Chamber of the Prussian Diet on April 21st, 1849.

(3) The Four Kings' League.¹

Austria had now added her Italian and Hungarian wars. Hanover, Bavaria, Saxony and Württemberg had formed the Four Kings' League against Prussia in December, 1848.

February, 1850. Austria prompted the Four Kings' League to propose a new German Constitution—in the form of a Directorate of Seven States—Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, Württemberg and the two Houses—with a Parliament nominated by the Chambers of the Associated States. The suzerainty of Austria in the Directory was implied.

E. Suspension of the Union of Northern States.

The Erfurt Parliament.

March 20th, 1850. A Prussian Parliament at Erfurt approved of the Berlin Programme.

¹ VierKönigsbündnis.

But Frederick William feared to risk a war with Austria which would probably be supported by the Czar, who strongly disapproved of what he regarded as the revolutionary schemes of the Prussian King; opposition in Prussia weakened his resolution; the Compact of the Interim, made between Austria and Prussia on September 30th, 1849, had expired; the union of the Northern States with Prussia had been weakened and Prussia could not afford to strengthen it by putting her army on a war footing.

May 18th, 1850. At a meeting of Princes at Berlin Frederick William practically suspended the Union although it was nominally placed under the direction of a College of Princes.

II. Reconstitution of the Diet.

The joint Commission of Prussia and Austria established by the Interim expired on May 1st, 1850.

May 18th, 1850. Schwarzenberg, without consulting Prussia as the terms of the Interim required, held a meeting at Frankfort at which representatives of Austria, Hanover, Bavaria, Württemberg, Saxony, Lusatia and Denmark constituted themselves as a Plenum of the old Diet and said they would admit other states only on the terms of the Act of 1815.

September 2nd, 1850. Formal reconstitution of the old Diet in spite of Prussia's protest.

Giffling was now split into two distinct parties.

III. The Function of Giffling, 1850.

A. Schleswig-Holstein.

April 2nd, 1849. War was renewed between Denmark and Prussia, who supported Augustenborg. But Nicholas I, to whom "the Holsteiners" were frankly rebels and the Duke of Augustenborg a Jacobin," threatened to intervene on behalf of the King of

Denmark. Frederick William, rejecting an offer of help from Napoleon III, accepted the advice of Austria to come to an agreement with Russia and withdraw his troops.

July 2nd, 1850. Peace was made which left the King of Denmark free to establish his authority in Holstein.

B. Hesse-Cassel.

The Elector of Hesse-Cassel had joined the Union in the hope that it would help him against his Diet.

September 3rd, 1850. The refusal of his Diet to vote taxes led to the "revolution in a dressing gown" and the flight of the Elector, who appealed to the newly restored Diet of the Confederation at Frankfurt of which Frederick William IV was not a member.

October 11th, 1850. Austria, Bavaria and Württemberg, assured of the support of the Czar, took up arms against the rebels and their action aroused strong resentment in Prussia. The Prussian army was mobilised, Prussian forces occupied Fulda and Cassel, and on November 6th, 1850, a small skirmish took place between Bavarians and Prussians near Fulda.

C. The Convention¹ of Olmütz, November, 1850.

Negotiations between Metternich and Schwarzenberg led to the Convention of Olmütz, November 29th, 1850.

(1) Hesse-Cassel.

Prussia evacuated Hesse, except Cassel, but retained control of the military route connecting East and West Prussia; recognised the right of the Diet of the Confederation to protect the Elector of Hesse; agreed to demobilise her troops.

(2) Schleswig-Holstein.

Prussia promised to join with Austria in compelling the Holsteiners to evacuate Schleswig.

¹ Cf. Foundation.

[May 8th, 1825. By the Treaty of London Great Britain, Russia, Austria, France, Prussia and Sweden guaranteed the integrity of the Danish Monarchy and recognized Christian of Glücksburg as King.]

(3) The Union of the North.

The Union of the North, which had been called "a gigantic error," was broken up.

(4) General.

The Convention of Gastein, due to the weakness of the Prussian army and to the indecision of Frederick William IV, humiliated Prussia, which was compelled to recede from her position in regard to Holstein, Elms and the Union. But Schwarzenberg, who said that "Prussia must be degraded, then demolished," failed to use his opportunity to crush Austria's only rival in Germany. Prussia and Austria jointly were to issue invitations for a Conference at Dresden which was to settle the future Constitution of Germany.

IV. The Conference of Dresden, 1850.

December 23d, 1850. Meeting of the Conference at Dresden.

A. Schwarzenberg's Proposal.

Schwarzenberg proposed that the whole of the Austrian Empire should be admitted into the German Confederation, the executive council of which should consist of Austria, Prussia, Hanover, Württemberg, Saxony and Bavaria. This arrangement would have enlarged the supremacy of Austria and made Prussia a second-rate power.

B. Metternich's Plan.

The proposed increase in the power of Austria was viewed with alarm by Great Britain and Russia as

well as Prussia. Montefel, while agreeing to the admission of the whole of the Austrian Empire, insisted that Prussia should share the Presidency on equal terms.

C. The Restoration of the Old Constitution.

May 1848, 1849. End of the Conference which, failing to reconcile the proposals of Schmerling and Montefel, re-established the Old Federal Diet of 1815.

V. General.

A. Result of the struggle.

"The agony and stress of two years of revolution had produced in Germany no more than the restoration of the *status quo*."¹

B. Reaction.

(1) The Diet.

The Diet repealed the Grandduke of 1848.

(2) Austria.

December 31st, 1861. Austria now entered on a policy of ruthless imperialism and the Emperor Francis Joseph revoked the Austrian Constitution.

(3) The Lesser States of Germany.

The Lesser States (except Baden, Coburg and Saxony), acting on the instructions of the Diet, repealed the liberal measures they had recently passed, suppressed trial by jury and freedom of the press, and instituted a system of police persecution founded on espionage.

C. Prussia.

The rivalry between Prussia and Austria for the leadership of Germany had been emphasised and the "Hungarianisation" of Austria and the restoration of the old Con-

feudation of 1838 seemed a triumph for Austria. But Frederick William IV refused to revoke the new Prussian Constitution.

"Prussia, not without reluctance and not without ignominy, had been brought to the conclusion that she must wait."¹

References :

- Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VI, chaps. VI and VII.
A Political History of Contemporary Europe (Briggs), Heinemann, pp. 329-383.
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Austria (Ward and Wilkinson), Cambridge University Press, Vol. I, chap. vii.

THE REVOLUTION IN VIENNA

The Revolution in Austria was democratic, constitutional and national.

I. The Austrian Empire.

Although Austria had been little affected by the French Revolution of the eighteenth century a demand had arisen for constitutional reform; the peasants called for the abolition of the old feudal services; workmen generally suffered great privations.

The Magyars demanded a national government in Hungary, the Czechs in Bohemia; the Slavs of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia wished to free themselves from Magyar domination and to establish a Slav State; the Rumanians of Transylvania wished to secure independence of Hungary; all objected to the union of Austria and Germany into one State. Thus in Austria the national movements tended to division, not to unity as in Germany. But in the German provinces of Austria the revolution was not national but purely constitutional.

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. XI, page 284.

and there was a tendency to support the inclusion of Austria in the German Federal State.

There was a general desire to maintain the personal rule of the Hapsburgs as the link that bound into a loose union a number of independent kingdoms.

The government of Austria was weak. The Emperor Ferdinand I was feeble in body and mind, and although the absolutist machine still existed, it did not work well for want of a head. Metternich, the Chancellor, who called the Austrian system "a wobbling edifice," was old and infirm; the State Councillor, the supreme authority in the system of government, had practically ceased to function and was abolished in April, 1848; the Empire was practically bankrupt.

The rising which broke out in January, 1848, against Austrian domination in Italy prevented the Government from devoting its whole attention to the suppression of revolution at home.

The February Revolution in Paris acted as a strong stimulus to that in Austria.

II. The Rising of March 18th, 1848.

Petitions for constitutional reform had been presented by different classes:—the Industrial Society, the Jurist-Political Reading Club and students. The publication of Kossuth's speech demanding reform for Hungary roused the Viennese.

March 17th, 1848. A mob, consisting largely of students, broke into the Landhaus, where the Estates of Lower Austria were sitting, and induced them to go to the Imperial Palace, where they petitioned the Emperor for reform. Riots broke out, barricades were erected.

March 14th, 1848. Flight of Metternich from Vienna in a heavily cart.

March 15th, 1848. An Imperial proclamation promised that a joint meeting of Provincial Estates should be called for July 3rd to frame a constitution, abolish the press laws, and establish a Municipal Guard.

III. The Edicts of May, 1848.

A. The Constitution.

April 25th, 1848. A new constitution was issued by the Emperor.

(1) Constitutional Monarchy.

- a. All the Austrian provinces (except Hungary, Croatia, Transylvania and Lombardy-Venetia) were declared to be a single indivisible constitutional monarchy.
 - b. All citizens of this monarchy were to have full civil and religious liberty.
 - c. A General Diet¹ was to be instituted, including an Upper House of nobles and a Lower, elected by indirect universal suffrage exercised by tax-paying electors; ministers were to be responsible to the General Diet.
 - d. Provincial Estates were to be continued.
 - e. A National Guard was to be established.
- No mention was made of Hungary.*

(2) The Central Committee.

a. Formation.

The fact that the constitution was issued by the Emperor alone, the favour it showed to the Crown and aristocracy and the limitations on the franchise displeased the Viennese. Further riots took place; the populace, among whom Polish exiles exercised considerable influence, gained greater power; the middle-class National Guards united with the students to form the Central Political Committee.

¹ Reichstag.

b. Dissolution and reinstatement.

May 15th, 1848. The Governor of Vienna dissolved the Central Political Committee.

May 16th, 1848. A mob compelled the Governor to reinstate the Central Committee and to promise to make the constitution more democratic.

(3) The Rising of May 26th, 1848.

May 17th, 1848. The Emperor fled to Innsbruck, promising to return when disorder was stopped in Vienna.

May 26th, 1848. The Government, hoping to check disorder, ordered the dissolution of the Academic Legion. Rising of students and unemployed workmen. Subversion of the Government. Establishment of a Committee of Safety of a hundred members which practically superseded the regular government, and on July 8th, 1848 compelled the Emperor, the Archduke John, to appoint a ministry consisting mainly of Liberals. "The high tide of revolution had been reached."

B. The Revolution crashed.

The victory of Windischgrätz at Pöngau on June 13th, 1848,¹ strengthened reaction.

(1) The General Diet.

July 2nd, 1848. Meeting of the General Diet at Vienna; most of the members belonged to the middle-class but 83 out of 383 were peasants; less than one-half spoke German as their native tongue. The result was parliamentary chaos in half-a-dozen languages.

a. Abolition of Feudal Services.

September 7th, 1848. The Diet did great and permanent service by removing the old

¹ Page 328.

breast services. Compensation was voted to the landlords who lost them. The peasants now tended to support the Government.

b. The Diet and Hungary.

September 14th, 1848. The Slav majority refused to receive a Magyar deputation asking for help for Hungary. The Viennese welcomed the deputation. This was practically a declaration of war between the Government supported by the Slavs, the army and, to some extent, the peasants against the Magyars, supported by the German democrats, who strongly approved of Kossuth's policy.

a. Succession of the Slavs.

October. The Slav members, who supported the war against Hungary, withdrew to Prague, leaving only a German revolutionary Rump in Vienna.

(2) Windischgrätz captures Vienna.

a. The Government becomes stronger.

August 15th, 1848. The Emperor returned to Vienna. Further riots followed; the Committee of Safety, unable to keep order, was dissolved by the ministry which, under Esch's leadership, adopted a more resolute attitude. The democrats formed a new Central Committee.

The Austrian Government, strengthened by Radetzky's victory at Custanza,¹ on July 26th, 1848, now resolved to use its army against Hungary and the democrats in Vienna.

October 3rd, 1848. A proclamation, strongly resented by the democrats, declared Hungary under martial law and made Jellacic commander-in-chief.

¹ Page 311.

October 6th, 1848. Latour ordered part of the Viennese garrison to serve in Hungary. Latour was murdered by the mob.

October 7th, 1848. The Emperor left Vienna for Olmütz.

4. The Capture of Vienna.

October 11th, 1848. Windischgrätz announced his intention of marching on Vienna: a Hungarian army under Moga came to help the democrats; Jellacic came to support Windischgrätz.

October 13th, 1848. Jellacic routed Moga at Schwechat, outside Vienna.

October 31st, 1848. Windischgrätz captured Vienna after a bombardment of five days and in spite of a heroic defence in which Bern took a conspicuous part.

Twenty-four prisoners were executed. The execution on November 2nd, 1848, of Robert Blum, a prominent German Liberal and a deputy of the Frankfurt Assembly, was a defiance of German democracy.

The Government, safe in the support of the army and bureaucracy, now under the leadership of Schwarzenberg, re-established its absolute system: the General Diet was transferred to Kremsier, where it discussed a constitution which was never voted, and was dissolved.

¹ "The final overthrow of the Vienna Revolution ended the design of permanently transferring the Austrian monarchy into a group of national states, while merging German Austria in a united Germany." ²

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. XI, page 388.



THE REVOLUTION IN BOHEMIA

A. General.

The Bohemian Diet, consisting mainly of nobles, strongly resisted the attempts of the Austrian Government to limit its control of taxation and wished to secure local autonomy. It united with the Czech national party which, led by the historian Palacky, viewed with apprehension the growing number of Germans in Bohemia, opposed the proposed incorporation of Bohemia, as part of Austria, in the German Federal State, and refused to send delegates to the Frankfurt Parliament; it strongly supported the growing sense of nationality and fostered the Czech language. The Revolution in Bohemia was both constitutional and national and it was stimulated by the demand of Kossuth, March 2nd, 1848, for a constitution for Hungary, and by the rising in Vienna on March 18th, 1848.

B. Union of Provincial Estates.

The Diet petitioned the Emperor for equality between the Czech and German languages and the union into a National Assembly of the Provincial Assemblies of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. The petition was granted.

April 5th, 1848. Convocation of the united Estates which were to revise the constitution.

C. Panславians.

The feeling of nationality was stimulated by these concessions; a Czech militia was formed, national dress was worn, hostility towards the Germans grew stronger and, as a means of protection against German interests, a union of Slavs was suggested.

June 2nd, 1848. A Pandemic Congress was opened by Palacky in Prague; it asserted its loyalty to the House of Hapsburg but was soon suppressed by the Austrian Government, which regarded it as a Slav conspiracy.

June 12th, 1848. Owing to the suppression of the Congress and the refusal of Windischgrätz to supply the students of Prague with arms, a rising took place in which Windischgrätz' wife was killed.

June 18th, 1848. Prague submitted to Windischgrätz after a bombardment of one day.

D. Results.

The suppression of the Bohemian rising was the first victory for Reaction against Revolution in Central Europe. The autonomy of Bohemia came to an end, Slav aspirations were checked, the success of the army encouraged the supporters of absolutism to adopt a policy of repression which was soon to prove successful in Vienna.

THE REVOLUTION IN HUNGARY

The constitutional movement in Hungary up to 1840¹ had been conservative and aristocratic. Under Kossuth, whose influence over the people grew steadily, it became liberal and revolutionary. It was complicated by differences with the Croats, who wished to unite with the people of Slavonia and Dalmatia to form a Tripartite Southern Slav Kingdom of Illyria independent both of Austria and Hungary, and by the demand of the Roumanians for the establishment of a separate national state in Transylvania.

¹ Page 136.

I. Hungary secures Independence.

A. Kossuth's Speech of March 3rd, 1848.

(1) New policy.

March 3rd, 1848. The Hungarian Diet at Pressburg was trying to secure moderate reform, but the February Revolution in Paris prompted Kossuth, in his famous speech, to demand for Hungary a national government and responsible ministry, which would enable her to secure freedom for all the Austrian people and to replace "the bad custom of bayonets and official oppression by the firm master of a free Constitution."

(2) Criticism.

- a. The speech clearly marked the new tendency given by Kossuth to the Reform movement in Hungary, and involved the separation of Hungary from Austria.
- b. In spite of the sympathy expressed for other Austrian people Kossuth strongly rebuked the demands of the Croats for independence of Hungary.
- c. The proposed "internationalism of the Austrian people" was antagonistic to the ascendancy of German influence involved in the movement for a Federal German State.

B. The Diet secures Reform.

Press became the centre of the movement. On March 14th, 1848, a mass meeting yet formed the "Twelve Points": political clubs and a Committee of Safety were established.

(1) The Demands of the Hungarians.

March 15th, 1848. The Upper House of the Diet, influenced by the Revolution in Vienna, passed the "March Laws" which the Lower House had already

voted. These were supplemented by further demands put forward by the people in the " People's Charter." The full Hungarian programme was constitutional, national and social.

a. Constitutional.

Annual meetings of the Diet; all Hungarians holding property worth £20, and not simply the nobles, were to vote; freedom of the press; trial by jury; the immunity from taxation hitherto enjoyed by the privileged classes to be abolished.

b. National.

The Magyar language to be official. This was a blow for the Croats.

The Diet to meet at Pesth instead of Pressburg. Pesth was the centre of the Liberals and Revolutionists, Pressburg of moderate Conservatives.

c. Social.

The peasants were to be relieved of feudal services and seigniorial rights were to be abolished.

(3) The Austrian Government grants the demands.

The Palatine, the Archduke Stephen, accepted the demand of the Diet for the establishment of a responsible Hungarian ministry appointed by the Palatine.

The Austrian Government attempted to maintain Imperial control of the Hungarian army, finances and foreign policy, but the Italian war and the Revolution in Vienna so weakened it that it had to submit.

April, 1848. The Austrian Government accepted the full Hungarian programme.

" Hungary had become, to all intents and purposes, a separate state bound to Austria only by the facts that its Palatine claimed to be a Hapsburg Archduke " ¹ and that Hungary had to contribute to the Imperial army and exchequer.

¹ Alison Phillips.

II. The New Hungarian Diet.

July 14, 1848. A Hungarian Diet, elected under the new conditions, met at Pesth. Many nobles had left the country, the Upper House counted for little, the real power lay with the Lower House over which Kossuth, the leader of the Radical party, exercised great influence. Kossuth adopted an anti-Austrian policy in spite of the opposition of the more moderate Deak, and in spite of the support which the Austrian Government seemed willing to give to the Magyars against the Croats.

A Hungarian Ministry representing all parties was formed, with Count Louis Batthyany as President. It represented all national parties and included Kotschy, a Conservative, Deak, a Moderate, as well as Kossuth, who became Finance Minister.

A. Finance.

The Hungarian Government refused to redeem the notes of the Vienna National Bank and issued twelve and a half million florins in Hungarian paper money. The opposition of Austrian financiers to the new regime was thus ensured.

B. Foreign Policy.

(1) Italy.

The Magyars sent reinforcements to Radetzky in Italy but showed increasing sympathy with the Italians in their opposition to Austria.

(2) Germany.

Kossuth favoured closer relations with the Frankfort Parliament¹ because the union of Germany seemed likely to weaken the Austrian Empire.

August 3rd, 1848. The Diet declared that it would not fight for Austria against German unity.

C. Croatia.

The Austrian Government had rejected the demand of Transylvania for independence of Hungary; it ordered Hungary to defend Dalmatia and, on June 10th, 1848, suspended Jellicic the Ban of Croatia, who was the leader of the Southern Slavs in their struggle with Hungary.

D. General.

The Diet forbade officials to take orders from Vienna, and established a Hungarian army. The Diet then asserted that Hungary was an independent sovereign state.

III. Hungary and Croatia.

The Southern Slavs resented the inclusion of Hungary, as an autonomous kingdom, from the Austrian Constitution² of April 18th, 1848, and were roused by Kossuth's absolute refusal to grant their demands.

A. Jellicic.

April 18th, 1848. The Austrian Government appointed Jellicic Ban of Croatia. He was a firm supporter both of the authority of the Hapsburgs and of Slav independence; he advocated Slav Federalism against Austro-German Dualism.

(1) The suspension of Jellicic.

He replaced Magyar by Slav officials and told them to take orders from him and not the Hungarian Diet.

May 7th, 1848. The Austrian Government ordered Jellicic to obey the Hungarian Diet.

June 5th, 1848. Jellicic summoned a South Slavonic Diet to Aggers. The Croats alone attended and demanded that the Triune Kingdom should be established.

June 10th, 1848. The Emperor, depending on Hungarian help against Vienna and in Italy, suspended Jellicic.

² Page 264.

(2) The restoration of Jellacic.

Jellacic conciliated the Austrian Government by ordering the Croats to support the Austrian cause in Italy. The Hungarian army accepted the new constitution on June 1st, 1848, but Hungary showed its sympathy with the revolutionaries of Vienna. Radetzky's victory at Custozza on July 24th, 1848, strengthened the Austrian Government, who were inclined to union with the Southern Slavs against the Magyars. Jellacic returned to Croatia and on visiting the Palace in Hungary was greeted by the Austrian army as the champion of the army and Empire.

B. War between Hungary and the Southern Slavs.

(1) Preparations in Hungary.

Hungary was determined to assert her supremacy over Croatia.

July 11th, 1848. At Kossuth's request the Hungarian Diet voted 42,000 men and two millions of florins, and Kossuth called for a levy of 300,000 men.

(2) Austria shows growing hostility to Hungary.

August 22nd, 1848. The Emperor, acting on the advice of a Camarilla of which the Archbishop Seghin was one of the leaders and emboldened by Radetzky's success in Italy, cancelled the patents of the Hungarian Palace and declared illegal the recent military levies and the financial measures of the Diet. The Archbishop Stephen resigned on August 27th.

September 4th. An Imperial order formally re-instated Jellacic as Pat of Croatia.

(2) The War.

September 11th, 1848. Jellacic invaded Hungary.

September 28th, 1848. General Lambert, sent from Vienna to take command of the Hungarians and Croatian forces in the hope of averting war, was murdered by the mob in Pesth.

September 26th, 1848. Jellacic was checked by the Hungarian general Moga near Valticevo and evacuated Hungary with the loss of 10,000 men.

17. War between Austria and Hungary.

October 3rd, 1848. The Austrian Government declared war on Hungary, which was hampered by the hostility of Croatia and Transylvania and the dissension that arose between its leaders, especially Kossuth and Görgei, and failed to secure the help it expected from the Viennese democracy.

October 26th, 1848. A Hungarian army under Moga advancing to relieve Vienna was routed by Jellacic at Schwechat.

October 31st, 1848. The capture of Vienna by Windischgrätz "antithetised Slav ambition to reorganise the Austrian Empire as a federation of National States."

December 3rd, 1848. Abdication of Ferdinand I.; accession of the Archduke Francis Joseph, who was bound by no pledges to Hungary. Schwarzenberg resolved to maintain the unity of the Austrian Empire and for this it was necessary to crush the Magyars, who refused to acknowledge the authority of Francis Joseph as he had not been elected by the Hungarian Diet.

[March 7th, 1849. The Austrian Assembly at Kremsier was dissolved by the Emperor.]

A. Early Austrian Successes.

(1) To the Battle of Kaposva, February, 1849.

October, 1848. Rising of the Rumanians. Hungary lost Transylvania.

December 15th, 1848. Jellacic again invaded Hungary. Gárgyi and Peczeli retreated beyond the Theiss.

January 5th, 1849. Windischgrätz occupied Pesth.

January 31st, 1849. The Hungarian general Klapka routed the Austrians under Schlick.

January, 1849. Kossuth's action in making Dembinski Commander-in-Chief greatly offended Peczeli, Klapka and Gárgyi.

February 17th, 1849. Schlick and Windischgrätz routed Dembinski at Kaporn.

(2) The Unitary Constitutional Edict, March, 1849.

March 14th, 1849. Schwarzenberg, thinking the Hungarians were crushed, issued the Unitary Edict which declared the unity of the Austrian Empire under the control of a central government with a Legislature of two Chambers.

The Unitary Edict greatly disappointed the Croats and inspired the Magyars to further resistance. Jellacic now gave up the idea of promoting Slav union and devoted himself to the cause of Austria.

B. A Magyar Republic, July, 1849.

(1) Magyar Successes.

a. Ban.

Dembinski was suspended on March 5th, 1849.

Ban overran Transylvania and, on March 11th, 1849, drove out the Rumanians who had been invited by the German population to defend them against the Magyars.

b. Gárgyi.

April 6th, 1849. Gárgyi defeated Windischgrätz at Győr and drove him back on Pesth.

April 15th, 1849. Gárgyi relieved Eger. The Magyars recovered Pesth by the end of May.

(3) The Republic.

April 14th, 1849. Proclamation of an independent Republic at Debrecen; Kossuth was to be Governor-President; the Hapsburgs were excluded for ever from the throne on the ground of their offences against the law of the land.

Kossuth's declaration was a mistake. It was a declaration of Revolution pure and simple and a challenge to the legitimate monarchs of Europe whose power the Magyars could not possibly resist; it particularly incensed Nicholas I. who regarded himself as the champion of Legitimate Monarchy and of the young Francis Joseph in particular, and strongly objected to the sympathy shown by the new Republic to rebels in Poland. Serious differences between G^örg^öi, who advocated a military dictatorship, and Kossuth weakened the Magyars.

C. The End of the Rising.

(1) The Russians help Austria.

Schwarzenberg, harassed by his Italian policy, felt bound to secure foreign aid, which Nicholas was glad to give, "against the party of the European revolution." The Magyars in vain sought help from the Saxons and Turks.

June 14th, 1849. Two hundred thousand Russians under Paskewich invaded Eastern Austria.

(2) General Haynau.

June 24th, 1849. Haynau, "the Hyena of Brescia,"¹ commanding the Austrians in the west, drove G^örg^öi southwards and took Raab. He occupied Pesth on July 13th, 1849.

August 5th, 1849. Haynau routed Demblinatz at Solong.

¹ He visited England in 1839 and was thrown into a hospital by Bayley and Perkins' daggers. Palmerston ordered their action on the ground that Haynau was "a great public criminal."—Page 414.

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August 14th, 1849. Haynau visited Bera at Temesvár.

August 11th, 1849. Kossuth, realising that the sole hope for Hungary lay in the army, abdicated in favour of Görgei.

(3) The Surrender of Világos.

August 13th, 1849. Görgei surrendered unconditionally to the Russians at Világos. His action was regarded by the Hungarians as treachery; the Austrians, who had done most of the fighting, were angry because he had not surrendered to them; but he saw that further resistance was hopeless and thought that he would get better terms from the Russians than the Austrians.

October 30th, 1849. Elapka, after a gallant defence, surrendered Komorn.

D. The Vengeance of Austria.

Nicholas I handed over Austria to the Emperor Francis Joseph without any return for his valuable help. Haynau now punished the rebels with great severity. Kossuth, Bera and Dembinski escaped to Turkey and the Sultan, strongly supported by Palmerston, refused to give them up, but thirteen generals were executed; 114 civilians who had taken an active part in the affairs of Hungary were also executed, including Batthyány; about 2000 people were imprisoned and Haynau's troops acted with great brutality towards the conquered.

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GERMANY AFTER THE REVOLUTION, 1850-1862

The Revolutions of 1848 proved bitter disappointments to German Liberals. The loose Confederation of Germany, in which Prussia and Austria strove for supremacy, had not been replaced by a national Federal State. Unsuccessful Revolution had been followed by Reaction; Austria had abandoned constitutional forms; parliamentary government had been weakened by the action of the Diet in annulling the *Grundrechte*¹ and requiring all changes made since the beginning of 1848 to be brought into harmony with the Confederate Constitution. But Frederick William IV maintained the new Prussian Constitution, parliamentary government was not extinguished, even in Austria the peasants retained the advantages they had secured.

The years from 1850 to 1862 were marked by a revival of Liberalism in Prussia and the failure of Reaction in Austria. The understanding between Austria and Prussia, which had recently proved disadvantageous to Prussia, was broken owing to the attitude adopted by Austria towards the Crimean War; the prestige of Austria was weakened by her failure in Italy.

After Bismarck came into power in 1862 he adopted a policy of blood and iron which was to give Prussia the victory over Austria and to make her the head of the German Empire.

Hanover, Mecklenburg, Saxony and Hesse supported Reaction.

I. Prussia.

A. Growth of Liberalism.

(1) The Jecker Reaction.

Although Frederick William IV refused to abrogate the Prussian Constitution of 1850² he hated the democratic revolution, was not prepared to take further steps for the unity of Germany and wished

¹ Page 241.

² Page 321.

to maintain peace by agreement with Austria. The Junkers took advantage of his weak character to reap the benefit of Reaction; they were the party of the landowners; they were essentially conservative and strongly Prussian; they opposed constitutional development which would strengthen the position of the professional and commercial classes; they supported Prussian particularism and opposed German nationalism; they secured the repeal of the Liberal municipal system established in 1850; they secured a majority in the Upper and Lower Houses; they obtained most of the chief official and military posts.

The rule of Otto von Manteuffel, the President of the Council, was a mean system of espionage and policy persecution.

B. A Moderate Liberal Ministry, 1866.

(1) Prince William became Regent.

October, 1866. Frederick William IV. became insane and Prince William became Regent. He was not a genius but industrious, trustworthy and sincerely religious. He was particularly happy in his choice of efficient ministers. He resented the humiliations Prussia had suffered under his brother and wished to make it a great military power. He was strongly conservative; he firmly believed in the Divine Right of Kings; he crowned himself on October 10th, 1866, and asserted that "the rulers of Prussia receive their crown from God." He thought that he ought to govern his people from above and not to share the power with his parliament, but he realized that the Prussian Constitution must be maintained. He felt that the Prussian army was the instrument whereby Prussia would accomplish her destiny, and "the army represented to him not only force, but moral

(2) The Ministry.

The Regent objected to Manteuffel's policy and in 1858 appointed a Moderate Liberal Ministry under Prince Anton von Hohenhausen. In 1859 Albrecht von Roon became Minister of War. The Liberals gained a majority in the Lower House and wished Prussia to take the lead in the Liberal movement and to create a strong and united Fatherland. The Regent, still suspicious of Liberals, was not willing to adopt this course.

January, 1861. Death of Frederick William IV.
Accession of William I.

C. The Reforms of the Prussian Army.

William I was a professional soldier; he had fought against Napoleon, and Hohenzollern tradition made the King the head of the army. He was convinced that a strong professional army was essential if Prussia was to become a great European Power and to found a Prusso-German Empire. He realised that the "humiliation" of *Olmitz* was largely due to the weakness of the Prussian army. The value of effective military power was shown in 1859 when the mobilisation of the Prussian army facilitated peace between France and Austria and led to the Armistice of Villafranca. But the mobilisation showed that the *Landwehr*, composed largely of elderly men, was of little value, and William determined to make more use of younger men.

(1) The Organisation of the Prussian Army.

The organisation of *Scharnhorst*¹ which was still in force provided indefinite conscription, three years' service with the colours followed by two in the reserve and fourteen in the Landwehr. The population had grown from twenty millions in 1814 to eighteen millions and should have supplied 68,000 recruits

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. III, page 463.

yearly. But the army was organized on a peace and not a war footing and financial provision was made for only about 130,000 men instead of 400,000; only 40,000 recruits were enlisted each year and these served only two years with the colours. It was broken out the *Landwehr* would have to be called out for active service for which it was unfit.

(2) *William's plans.*

William wished—

- a. To extend universal service for three years with the colours, thus raising the first line to 200,000 men.
- b. To require four instead of two years in the reserve.
- c. To substitute six for fourteen years' service in the *Landwehr*.

He would thus secure an army of nearly 600,000 vigorous and better drilled men, and would not need to use the *Landwehr* for active operations. His programme involved the organization of forty-nine new regiments at an additional annual cost of 9,000,000 thalers.

(3) *The Chamber of Deputies.¹*

a. *Constitutional Problems.*

The question of Army Reform led to strong differences between the King and the Chamber of Deputies, in which the new Progress Party,² which demanded the establishment of the Constitution of 1850,³ with an extension of the jury system, ministerial responsibility and military service for two years only, gained great influence. It objected to the proposed reform because it would strengthen the power of the Crown and be used to establish the *unity* of

¹ *Abgeordnete.*

² *Fortschrittspartei.*

³ Page 241.

Germany by force and not, as the Progress Party advocated, by peaceful methods.

The difference involved a constitutional question. It became a "formal conflict for power between the House and the Crown."¹ William, upholding the Hohenzollern tradition, denied that the Deputies had the right to refuse him the supplies necessary if he was to carry out his duties as head of the army. The Deputies insisted on their right of granting or withholding taxes and asserted that the question was "whether the power of the Government should remain in the hands of the Crown . . . or should pass to the Chamber of Deputies."

- b. The struggle between William and the Chamber of Deputies. "The Conflict Time."¹

1860. The Deputies demanded the reduction of service with the colours from three years to two. William refused. The Deputies passed the military estimates provisionally.

Roon, claiming to act in accordance with the prerogative of the Crown, completed the proposed reforms by the end of 1861.

1861. A new Chamber, in which the Progress Party had increased its strength, protested strongly against Roon's action and passed the estimates provisionally by a majority of only eleven.

1862. A new Chamber absolutely rejected the army estimates by three hundred and eight votes to eleven; this meant that the new regiments would have to be disbanded. William thought of abdicating, as Hohenzollern's Ministry was unwilling to maintain the army in defiance of the Chamber.

c. Bismarck becomes Chief Minister.

September, 1872. On the advice of Bismarck and Montaudou, the King made Otto von Bismarck his Chief Minister.

D. The Zollverein.¹

Schwarzenberg wished to weaken Prussia's influence in the Zollverein by securing the admission of Austria and forming a common tariff union for Central Europe and Italy. He wished to induce the South German States to break away from Prussia.

Prussia and Hanover by adopting a Free Trade policy prevented Austria from joining the Zollverein.

1832. The South German States, unwilling to lose the commercial advantages they derived from trade with Prussia, renewed the Zollverein, which now included the whole of non-Austrian Germany and excluded Austria.

This was a great triumph for Prussia.

II. Austria.

The failure of the Revolution in Austria was followed by the establishment of centralised absolutism to which Imperial promises, Liberal legislation, old rights and customs were sacrificed. The peasants alone retained the advantages they had gained.

A. The Black System.

Alexander Bach, a former Liberal, took the leading part in the Reaction.

(1) Absolute Government.

The Government tried by a system of absolute government to make a united Kingdom of Austria with a German language.

¹ Page 363.

a. Hungary.

Hungary suffered terribly under the Bach System. The Constitution of 1848¹ was annulled; all Magyar liberties were abolished and German became the official language; the absolute rule of the Emperor was established and carried out by German officials from Vienna; Hungary was placed under martial law, young Magyars were compelled to enlist in Austrian regiments and sent to serve far from their homes. Croatia and Transylvania were separated from Hungary.

b. Slavs and Rumanians.

The same policy was adopted towards Slavs and Rumanians although they had helped Austria against Hungary.

c. Results.

The attempt failed, discontent was general, "Hungary became an open sore in the body of the Empire."

(2) The Concordat of 1855.

The higher clergy had generally supported the Emperor against revolution and demanded concessions in return; the Archduchess Sophie was a devout Roman Catholic; Ultramontane influence was strong in Austria; Bach was anxious to get the support of the Roman Catholic clergy against the nobles, who distrusted a former Liberal.

August 1855, 1858. By the Concordat with the Pope, Bach gave to the Church the control of Austrian schools and the decision as to the legality of Catholic marriages and promised to restore Church property confiscated by Joseph II.²

In its ecclesiastical policy the absolute government

¹ Page 124.

² *Notes on European History*, Vol. III, page 287.

of the Emperor proved subservient to the Pope. All German Liberals strongly disapproved of the Concordat, which weakened the influence of Austria in Northern Germany.

(c) The Fall of Bach.

Bach's absolute rule had provoked great discontent even from the Germans in Austria; from 1848 to 1860 the national debt was more than doubled and financiers were in a hopium state; Austria had lost the friendship of Russia and annoyed the Western Powers owing to her action in the Crimean War¹; the defeat at Magenta and Solferino in 1859 greatly discredited Austria. Bach was dismissed from office and his system was abandoned.

B. The Reorganisation of the Empire.

Stadion advocated a single representative Parliament for the whole Empire which would have preserved the centralised government; Bohemia and Hungary advocated a system of Provincial Parliaments with some measure of independence in each nation, and an Imperial Senate meeting at Vienna. The former view was supported by the cities and middle classes and the German population; the separate nations advocated Federalism.

(i) The October Charter, 1860.

October 30th, 1860. The October Charter restored all institutions which had been in force before 1848 and proposed to establish an Imperial Diet of one hundred members chosen from the Provincial Parliaments. Hungary received back its historic system of county assemblies which elected officials and judges, and all German officials were dismissed.

The October Charter was a victory for the Federalists. But the Hungarians demanded the Constitution of 1848 and declared null and void all acts done since 1848 by the Austrian Government without the consent

¹ Page 280.

of the Hungarian Diet. They refused to pay taxes and the result was scarcity.

(2) The Imperial Constitution, 1861.

The October Charter having failed owing to the opposition of Hungary, the Emperor now adopted the policy of the German controlling party whose leader, Schmerling, was largely responsible for the Imperial Constitution.

February 26th, 1861. The Imperial Constitution was issued.

a. Provisions.

- (1) The establishment of local Diets elected by three bodies of electors: landholders, cities, rural districts.
- (2) A united Imperial Parliament¹ of two Chambers: the Chamber of the Lords, including hereditary nobles and Imperial nobles, and the Chamber of Deputies elected by the provincial Diets.

The Imperial Parliament could pass laws and impose taxes. But the Emperor's executive power remained: he could select his ministers and decide his own policy.

Thus a centralised constitutional monarchy similar to that of Louis XVIII was established. Local independence was preserved and the central authority strengthened.

b. Opposition.

The Imperial Constitution displeased the nations of the Empire by making them subject to the Imperial Parliament. Hungary, Croatia and Venetia refused to send delegates to the Imperial Parliament, whose supreme authority they resented; the Poles and Czechs sent delegates but demanded their "*Viennese relations*"

¹ Reichstag.

The Hungarian Diet demanded the reunion of Croatia and Transylvania with Hungary, the Constitution of 1848 and "the restoration of the parliamentary system with a responsible ministry"; it refused to "make the Hungarian Government dependent upon any other than the King of Hungary."

Later the Poles and Czechs withdrew from the Imperial Parliament, which represented little more than the German portions of Austria. It questioned the financial policy of the ministers and in 1863 added to the Emperor's difficulties by refusing to sanction a loan.

(3) *The Ausgleich, 1867.*

a. Continued Opposition.

Hungary was placed under martial law but continued its opposition, and, in the hope of conciliating the Magyars, the Emperor suspended the Imperial Constitution on September 24th, 1865.

b. Francis Deak.

Francis Deak now became the leader of the Hungarians; his moderation had been shown by his refusal to support Kossuth's extreme policy in 1848; he was friendly towards the Hapsburgs. He had insisted in 1861 that Hungary must be independent and that the only bond between her and Austria was personal. In 1865 he suggested that the union between the two should be dynastic but that they should have a common foreign policy and military organization. Austria at first refused to accept this policy, but her defeat at Königsgrätz, July 3rd, 1866, compelled her to meet the demands of Hungary.

November, 1866. Deak's plan, which put

been approved by the Hungarian Diet, met with strong opposition in other provincial Diets from the Slavs, who favoured Federalism, and the German Liberals who demanded the centralised Constitution of 1860.

January, 1867. German opposition prevented an extraordinary Imperial Parliament from adopting *Denkmalen*. Beust, the new chief minister, induced an ordinary Imperial Parliament to accept the *Ausgleich* in November.

a. Terms of the *Ausgleich*.

(i) Division of the Austrian Empire.

The Austrian Empire was divided into two absolutely independent parts, Hungary or Transylvania (including Hungary, Croatia, Slavonia, Transylvania and Serbia) and Austria or Cisleithania. The Leitha was the boundary between the two. The two states had one monarch who was Emperor of Austria and Apostolic King in Hungary. The Imperial Eagle was the common flag.

(2) Local Government.

In Hungary the Constitution of 1848 was established with a Diet of two Chambers, the aristocratic nobles and the popularly elected deputies. The King appointed his own ministers.

In Austria an Imperial Parliament was established with two Chambers, the nobles and the representatives, who were elected by provincial diets.

(3) The Delegations.

Each State had its own parliament and from each parliament sixty delegates, forming two separate Delegations, were appointed to deal with foreign affairs, the army and navy and

common financial problems. The Delegations met separately and alternately at Vienna and Pesth; each used its own language; they communicated with each other in writing and met together in case of disagreement—but only to vote.

(iv) Other common problems.

Such common problems as commerce, tariffs and factory legislation were settled by contracts between the two ministries and approved by the Diet and Imperial Parliament.

d. Criticism.

(i) Dualism.

Federalism and Centralisation had failed. The independent spirit of the Hungarians led to the establishment of a Dualism which was a union not of Austria and Hungary but of each of these states with the Hapsburg dynasty.

June, 1867. The Emperor Francis Joseph received the Crown of St. Stephen in Pesth.

(ii) The Slavs.

Both Magyars and Austrians wished to check the less strongly organised and less civilised Slavs. Bismarck said, "take care of your barbarians and we will take care of ours." The Magyars wished to make Hungary a united state by obliterating the divisions which made it not one but several nations. They tried to make the Slavs, Rumanians, Croats and Transylvanians into Magyars but failed to break their national spirit.

(iii) The Victory of the Magyars.

The *Aspern* preserved the Austrian monarchy for fifty years. But it was a victory for the Magyars, who secured their independence and undertook far too small a proportion of the

financial burden of the Austrian Empire. Hungary proved more vigorous than Austria and the latter tried to check Magyar power by "forming Bosnia, Herzegovina, Rumania and Croatia into a balancing Slav State."

III. The Problem of German Nationality, 1848-1862.

A. The Supremacy of Austria.

After the Revolution Austria became supreme in the restored German East. Prussia was weakened by the "humiliation" of Olmitz and the weakness of Frederick William IV. "Since 1851 Schleswig adopted the plan of securing to Austria the leadership of Germany by the means that the Constitution offered."²

B. Revival of the Demand for a Federation.

The victory of Sardinia over Austria in 1860 and the establishment of Italian unity impaired the influence of Austria and strengthened the demand for closer national union in Germany. Many Germans feared that Napoleon III might attack Germany and wished so to reform the Confederation that it would be able successfully to resist him.

(1) The National Union.

Prussia in 1860 was far stronger than she had been in 1848; she had saved the Zollverein and the mobilization of her army had compelled France and Austria to make peace.

1860. Formation of the National Union which advocated the union of all Germany, excluding Austria, under the leadership of Prussia. This plan was favoured by Baden and the North German States.

(2) The Reform Union.

The Southern States and the Catholics of the Rhine disliked the idea of a Protestant Empire; the more

² Rismarch.

Liberal policy adopted by Austria after 1859 made a favourable impression; the majority of the German Princes were hostile to Prussia, which was opposed, particularly by the Southern States, for her failure to help Austria in 1859.

1862. Formation of the Reform Union, which advocated the establishment of a Pan-German State, including Austria as president and governed by a Directorate of Austria, Prussia and Bavaria and three other States.

Then when Bismarck became Minister in September, 1862, the old rivalry between Austria and Prussia for supremacy in Germany had broken out again.

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BISMARCK AND THE GERMAN EMPIRE

In his earlier days Bismarck, an absolutist and a conservative, had favoured an alliance with Austria, the champion of monarchy against revolution, but during his residence as Prussian Envoy at Frankfurt from 1851 to 1857 Bismarck came to the conclusion that "Austria is the enemy."

In 1862 he described to Disraeli the policy he would pursue as Minister of Prussia. "My first aim will be, with or without the help of Parliament, to reorganise the army." He would use the army "to declare war with Austria, burst asunder the German Confederation, bring the middle and smaller States into subjection, and give Germany a national union under the leadership of Prussia."

In carrying out this policy Bismarck had to contend with many difficulties. Prussia did not want war with Austria; the Conservatives and King William I wanted to maintain the Austrian Alliance, the Liberals to secure German Federation by negotiation

and to maintain the power of the Prussian Parliament. There seemed a possibility that a Franco-Russian alliance would be formed, and this might prove dangerous to Prussia if she went to war with Austria.

September, 1862. Bismarck became President of the Ministry and Minister for Foreign Affairs.

I. Bismarck's First Year of Office, September, 1862, to September, 1863.

A. The Prussian Parliament.

Bismarck tried to conciliate the Liberals but failed owing to their opposition to army reform. He then took full advantage of the fact that Prussian ministers were Crown nominees and independent of a Parliamentary majority.

The House of Representatives passed the budget for 1863 without the credits necessary for army reform. The House of Lords threw out the budget as they were entitled to do; they sent to the House of Representatives a new budget containing the army credits; this action was illegal but it strengthened the hand of Bismarck who, believing that "the German problem cannot be solved by Parliamentary decrees but only by blood and iron," levied the taxes he required although they had not been properly voted.

Bismarck abolished the liberty of the press and suspended or banned Liberal newspapers.

These actions infuriated the Liberals; Bismarck relied on the support of the Conservatives, and thus Prussia was governed by a party "which possessed only eleven votes in the House of Representatives," and Parliamentary ideals were discredited.

B. The Alliance with Russia, 1863.

The Poles, who had revolted against Russia, wished to win back from Prussia, West-Prussia, Posen and Polish Pomerania.

If, as seemed possible, the Czar met the wishes of the Poles and gave Poland an independent constitution, the Poles would certainly try to incorporate Prussian Poland in their new State.

February 8th, 1863. Bismarck, thinking that "the Polish question is to us a matter of life and death," made a Convention with Russia and agreed to concentrate four army corps on the Polish frontier to prevent help being sent to the Poles. Alexander II, relying upon the support of Prussia, could disregard the protests made on behalf of Poland by Great Britain, Austria and France, and adopt repressive measures against Poland. Prussia was assured of at least the neutrality of Russia if war broke out with Austria, and this assurance was "the first and not the least important step in Bismarck's advance against Austria."

C. The Congress of Princes at Frankfurt, 1863.

August 14th, 1863. A Congress of Princes, summoned by Austria, met at Frankfurt to consider a new scheme by which the German Confederation should be established as a Directory in which Austria would be supreme.

Bismarck, by a threat of resignation, prevented King William I from sending representatives. The refusal of Prussia to co-operate ruined the scheme, for the Smaller States objected to the absolute supremacy of either Austria or Prussia, which would exchange their own independence. Austria thus failed "to take any decisive step against Prussia with the help of the Secondary States."

D. General.

By the end of his first year of office Bismarck had strengthened the position of Prussia. But he had incurred great unpopularity from Prussian and European Liberals, and the Crown Prince Frederick had become his strong opponent. The Czar was Prussia's only friend.

II. Schleswig-Holstein.

A. Schleswig-Holstein and Germany.

(1) The London Protocol, May, 1852.

- a. May 8th, 1852. The London Protocol, signed by the Powers in London, maintained the integrity of Denmark, gave the throne to Christian of Glücksburg and asserted the rights of the German Confederation in Holstein and Lauenburg. Duke Christian of Augustenburg agreed to the succession of Christian and renounced his estates in Schleswig.

b. Criticism.

The German Diet had no share in the Protocol; the action of the Duke of Augustenburg did not bind him; the Holstein Estates claimed that the Protocol was invalid as it had not received their approval.

(2) The Danes try to incorporate the Duchies.

A strong party, the "Eider Danes," wished to extend the boundaries of Denmark to the Eider, to extinguish German nationality in the Duchies and to incorporate them in the monarchy.

- a. October, 1868. Frederick VII, taking advantage of the Crimean War with which the Powers were fully occupied, published a new constitution which established the authority of the King in the Duchies. He was compelled, owing to the protests of the German Diet, inspired partly by the growing feeling of nationality in Germany, to exclude Holstein and Lauenburg from the constitution.

- b. March 30th, 1863. Frederick VII, thinking that the differences which had arisen between the Powers about Poland would prevent them

from interfering in Denmark, published a manifesto declaring that Schleswig was a part of Denmark and requiring Holstein to pay a fixed proportion to the Danish revenue. This was ratified by the Danish Parliament in November, 1863.

(3) Accession of Christian of Glücksburg.

November 10th, 1863. Death of King Frederick VII; accession of Christian IX.

Duke Frederick of Augustenborg, whose claims had not been invalidated by his father's action, claimed the Duchies; as a German he was welcomed by the large German population of the Duchies and supported by the German Diet. The question of the Duchies then became a German national question.

(4) The German Diet intervened.

July 24th, 1863. The Diet ordered that Denmark should accept the recent constitution and carry out the Protocol of 1862. The Danes refused.

December 24th, 1863. Saxons and Hanoverian troops occupied Holstein by order of the German Diet and Augustenborg was proclaimed Duke Frederick VIII of Schleswig-Holstein on December 24th, 1863.

January 14th, 1864. The German Diet changed its policy and formally denounced the Protocol of 1862.

B. Austria and Prussia.

(1) Bismarck's Policy.

Bismarck resolved to use the opportunity to secure additional territory for Prussia and, in particular, to obtain Kiel. He opposed Duke Frederick VIII's claim because he feared that, if the Duke was firmly established in the Duchies, Prussia would be unable to take advantage of the dissension in Denmark.

German feeling supported the Duke, who was recognised by Bavaria and the Minor States; King William I sympathised with him; the Prussians favoured his cause and the House of Representatives, on December 2nd, 1863, demanded the immediate recognition of the Duke.

Bismarck, wishing to avoid interference by the Powers on behalf of Denmark, determined to support the Protocol in defiance of the general opinion of Germany. He gained the support of Austria, who was annoyed with the Minor States for opposing her proposals at Frankfurt, was on unfriendly terms with Russia owing to the Polish question, feared that Napoleon III intended to reopen the Italian question, and regarded the action of Duke Frederick as revolutionary.

(2) The Danish War, February-April, 1864.

January 14th, 1864. Prussia and Austria, as contracting parties, and independently of the German Diet, demanded, on pain of war, that Denmark should endorse the Protocol of 1852. Their action prevented the Powers, the other signatories, from interfering.

January 32nd, 1864. The Prussian House of Representatives, which strongly opposed Bismarck's policy as anti-national, refused to grant a subsidy to meet the cost of Prussian intervention, but Austrian and Prussian troops occupied Schleswig and invaded Denmark.

February 8th, 1864. Capture of the Danewerke.

April 15th, 1864. The Prussian troops stormed the Dippel entrenchments.

(3) The Conference of London, April, 1864.

April 25th, 1864. Great Britain, which was friendly towards Denmark, called a meeting of the Powers, including the German Confederation whose troops

and held Holstein. But there was little danger of united action by the Powers; Palmerston sympathized with Denmark but the opposition of the Court and many of his Cabinet prevented him from active intervention; Napoleon III was hampered by the Mexican War; Bismarck had conciliated Prussia.

Denmark now demanded that the two Duchies should be united as Independent States subject to the sovereignty of Denmark, and that Schleswig should be admitted to the German Federation. The Danes, hoping for help from Great Britain, refused these terms and the Conference ended in June, 1864.

Bismarck now offered to recognise Duke Frederick VIII if he would give Prussia control of his army and railways. The Duke, influenced by Austria, refused. The Prussians now began to see that the success of Bismarck's policy would strengthen Prussia and "at this point Bismarck's policy for the first time received the general approval of the country."

(4) The Treaty of Vienna, October, 1864

The war was renewed but the capture of Alsen and most of the Danish army on July 25th compelled the Danes to submit. Mønsted, the leader of the Elder Danes, resigned, and his successor Balthasar opened negotiations.

August 1st, 1864. Preliminaries of peace were signed.

October 25th, 1864. By the Treaty of Vienna, in which the German Diet had no share, King Christian announced all claims to the German Duchies of Schleswig, Holstein and Lauenburg, which were handed over to Austria and Prussia jointly.

Austria and Prussia immediately occupied Schleswig; they compelled the troops of the German Diet, who were holding Holstein in the interests of Duke Frederick, to withdraw, and the Prussians occupied Holstein.

III. The Austro-Prussian War, 1866.

A. The Convention of Gastein, 1865.

(1) Growing Difference between Austria and Prussia.

Austria now became suspicious of Bismarck's designs on the Duchies and feared that her alliance with Prussia would ruin her influence in the Diet; Mensdorff, the new minister at Vienna, resolved to win the support of the German Diet by supporting the claims of Duke Frederick.

February 6th, 1865. Bismarck agreed to recognise Frederick if he would surrender Kiel, give the control of his army, postal system and finance to Prussia, which would have to defend him against any Danish attack.

Frederick refused these terms because they would weaken his sovereign rights.

Owing to the strong feeling among the smaller German States in favour of the Duke, Austria began to support his claims and the Austrian Commissioner of Schleswig-Holstein encouraged the agitation on behalf of Frederick in spite of the opposition of his Prussian colleague.

(2) Both sides unwilling to start a War.

Austria, sure of the support of the lesser German States, should now have declared war on Prussia, but her army was ineffective and her treasury empty; she feared that war with Prussia would lead Napoleon III to intervene in Italy.

Bismarck, too, was doubtful of Napoleon's intentions. King William's scruples about opposing Augustenborg had been removed by a decision of Prussian lawyers that Frederick had no claim to the Duchies, but he did not want war with Austria; Bismarck was not yet sure if the Prussian army could oppose Austria and the smaller German States with reasonable hope of success.

(3) The Convention.

August 14th, 1865. By the Convention of Gastein Austria and Prussia agreed that the former should administer Holstein, the latter Schleswig, and that Prussia should purchase the Austrian share in Lauenburg for £215,000.

The Convention alienated the smaller States from both Austria and Prussia and provoked protests from the German Diet in favour of Frederick, but the Diet was overruled by Austria and Prussia. Great Britain and France also protested but Bismarck remained firm.

B. Bismarck's Diplomacy.

Bismarck realised that war with Austria was inevitable and that the Convention of Gastein had only "papered over the cracks." He was assured of the neutrality of Russia and was now confident that the Prussian army would prove superior to the Austrians. His position was difficult because King William I was unwilling to go to war with Austria, and the Prussian nation, which was annoyed because Bismarck persisted in governing without a Parliamentary budget, was unwilling to support him. He used the opportunity afforded by the Convention of Gastein to establish good relations with Napoleon III and Italy.

(1) Napoleon III.

a. Napoleon's Object.

Napoleon was willing to recognise the supremacy of Prussia in Northern Germany and of Austria in Southern; he hoped to use the division of Germany to promote the interests of France by securing additional territory on her eastern frontier and by posing as the champion of the lesser German States.

He renounced the Convention of Gastein, which seemed to confirm the alliance between Prussia and Austria and disregarded the principle of nationality in the settlement of the Duchies.

1. Biarritz.

October, 1868. Interview of Bismarck and Napoleon at Biarritz. Napoleon promised to remain neutral between Austria and Prussia and thought that Bismarck promised him "a rectification of frontier" in return for his neutrality. But Bismarck relied upon conquering Austria with the help of Italy and then refusing to give any German territory to France, for such a gift would be resented by King William and gravely weaken the influence of Prussia in Germany.

a. Later Efforts.

- (i) *May, 1866.* Napoleon, at the request of Francis Joseph, asked Italy to remain neutral. Italy refused to break the alliance she had formed with Prussia.
- (ii) Austria rejected Napoleon's proposal that a European Congress should be held under his presidency to settle the difference between Austria and Prussia.
- (iii) Napoleon, hoping to become the arbiter of the dispute, made a treaty of neutrality with Austria who promised not to establish a united Germany, and promised Prussia that he would remain neutral. But he tried to induce Italy to withdraw from the alliance recently made with Prussia in the hope that without Italian aid Prussia would be defeated.

(3) Italy.

Bismarck's agreement with Napoleon facilitated an alliance with Italy, who was anxious to obtain Venetia from Austria.

a. Italy and the Zollverein.

November, 1855. A Commercial Treaty was made between Italy and the Zollverein; the lesser German States, except Hanse and Nassau, enraged by what they regarded as Austria's betrayal of their interests at Gastein, renounced the Italian kingdom.

b. Italy and Prussia.

A suggestion of Italy that Austria should give her Venetia and receive in compensation the Danubian Principalities was not accepted owing to the opposition of Russia and Great Britain. Italy, alarmed at Austria's active military preparations and feeling the need of protecting herself, made on April 8th, 1859, an Alliance with Prussia. Bismarck, who four days before had declared that King William had no intention of going to war with Austria, agreed with Italy that if his proposals for the reform of the German Constitution were rejected he would declare war on Austria within three months. Italy would support Prussia and, if the Allies were unsuccessful, Italy should receive Venetia and Prussia should get territory in Northern Germany.

The alliance with Italy relieved Bismarck of the fear of French intervention on the Rhine.

Italy remained faithful to this alliance in spite of Napoleon's suggestion of neutrality, in May, 1860, and the offer made by Austria at the same time, partly owing to her difficulties in Hungary, to give up Venetia to Italy as the price of Italian neutrality.

(3) *Bismarck and Austria.*a. *Schleswig-Holstein.*

In acceptance with the Convention of Gastein the Prussians set up a *Provisional Government* under Montsieu in Schleswig, and the Austrians another under Gable in Holstein.

Austria, reacting the growing friendship between Prussia and Italy, encouraged the demand of the *Holsteimers* for the restoration of Duke Frederick whose claims were rejected by Prussia. Gable allowed the local papers to advocate the Duke's claim and in January, 1866, permitted a meeting in Altona to denounce the Prussian policy and demand the convocation of the Estates of the Duchies.

Bismarck's complaints were met by the assertion that Frederick was the lawful duke, that the Schleswig papers had attacked Austria, and that Austria was determined to maintain her position in the Duchies.

Austria further declared that Prussia had no right to complain of her action, and that she would not weaken her relations with the smaller German States to meet the desires of Prussia.

Bismarck denounced the action of Austria in supporting "revolutionary agitation" in Holstein.

b. *The Diet.*

April 24, 1866. Bismarck, hoping to conciliate the Liberals and to strengthen the position of Prussia in Germany, unsuccessfully proposed that a German National Parliament should be elected by universal suffrage.

June 1st, 1866. Austria determined to refer the Schleswig-Holstein question to the Diet.

Bismarck declared that such action was a breach of the Convention of Gastein and by his orders Edwin von Manteuffel invaded Holstein on June 7th.

June 14th, 1866. Austria brought forward in the Diet a proposal that the Diet should send troops to oppose Prussia in Holstein. Bismarck declared that he would not recognise the right of the Diet to intervene unless it was reformed, and brought forward new proposals which involved the exclusion of Austria from the Confederation. The invasion of Holstein was hastily assented by the Diet; the Austrian proposal was accepted and Prussia withdrew from the Confederation. The question of the Duchies had become subordinate to that of the two Great Powers in the Confederation.

Both parties were inconsistent. Bismarck advocated a democratic constitution in Germany, but was ruling unconstitutionally in Prussia and refused to allow the Estates of Holstein to meet. Austria appealed to the Diet which she had ignored in the Treaty of Vienna and Gastein, and supported the claims of Augustenborg which she had rejected by those treaties and at London.

c. Mobilisation.

Austria had proposed that she and Prussia should demobilise their forces and King William had agreed.

But Austria, in view of the danger from Italy, continued the mobilisation of her northern troops; King William feared that these troops, if successful against Italy, would be afterwards used against Prussia and now felt that war was inevitable. Bismarck asserted that Austria by her persistence in mobilising and her refusal to

accept Napoleon's invitation to a Conference¹ had proved her determination to go to war with Prussia.

Bismarck's diplomacy from April to June, 1866, was a determined effort to provoke war within the three months allowed by the treaty with Italy.²

D. The Seven Weeks' War.

(1) The Outbreak.

June 14th, 1866. The vote in the Diet was a declaration of war.

June 18th, 1866. Saxony, Hanover, Hesse-Cassel and Nassau rejected Bismarck's ultimatum.

Only the military class in Prussia strongly supported Bismarck's policy. The National Union protested, in Rhenish Prussia conscripts enrolled with great reluctance, the clergy in Silesia preached against war. General civilian dissatisfaction led to an attempt to assassinate Bismarck in Berlin on May 7th, 1866.

Of the Confederate States Oldenburg, Mecklenburg and Lauenburg³ which had not voted on June 14th, remained neutral. Bavaria, Württemberg, Saxony, Hanover, Hesse-Carmstadt, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau and Baden supported Austria; but they doubted the victory of either Austria or Prussia which, they thought, would limit their independence.

Prussia was fighting the rest of Germany single-handed. But Austria was at war with Italy and was obliged to keep in Italy considerable forces which might have made Koenigsgrätz an Austrian victory; Hungary was disturbed. Austria's armies were badly organized, armed with muzzle-loading rifles and widely scattered; her finances were hopeless; her armies were composed of men of different nationalities. The purely German Prussian army was concentrated;

¹ Page 221.

² Page 222.

It was well trained, well organized and equipped with the new needle-gun or breech-loader; Prussia had a large war fund; her convenient railways and accurate maps facilitated transport.

(2) The First Prussian Victory.

The main Prussian forces were concentrated around Holstein. They numbered 241,000 men and consisted of three armies under the Crown Prince in Silesia, Prince Frederick Charles in Lusatia, and Bismarck commanding the Army of the Elbe near Torgau. The Prussian Army of the Main of about 48,000 men under Falkenstein was to deal with the other Confederate States.

The Army of the Main, June-July 1866.

a. Conquest of North-West Germany.

June 16th, 1866. Falkenstein occupied Hesse-Cassel.

June 29th, 1866. Falkenstein, reinforced by Manteuffel, defeated the Hanoverians at Langensalza.

b. Conquest of Southern Germany.

July 14th, 1866. Falkenstein, who had marched against the Southern States, gained victories at Koenigsgrün and Aschaffenburg, and entered Frankfurt. The Prussians exacted so heavy an indemnity from Frankfurt that the bourgeoisie committed suicide.

July 25th, 1866. Manteuffel, Falkenstein's successor, defeated the Bavarians on the Tauber.

(3) Königsgrün or Sadowa, July 3rd, 1866.

The Prussians occupied Dresden without resistance in June 18th, 1866. The Saxon army joined the Austrian main forces under Benedek in Bohemia. The allied armies numbered 251,000 men.

a. Benedek falls back on Königgrätz.

Moltke, who directed operations by telegraph from Berlin, ordered the three Prussian armies to concentrate at Gitschin in preparation for a general attack on Benedek. Benedek proposed to deliver his main attack on Frederick Charles' army and to hold the Crown Prince in check in Silberitz, and after defeating the former, to combine all his forces against the latter.

The Crown Prince forced his way through the Silesian passes, gained victories at Nitsch on June 17th and Berzdorf on June 28th.

Prince Frederick Charles was joined by the Army of the Elbe coming from Saxony at Reichenberg on June 28th, defeated the Austrians at Mieschaugwitz on June 27th and Pödel on June 28th, and on June 30th took Gitschin, where the Crown Prince joined him.

Benedek seeing that he could not continue his operations against the Crown Prince, and fearing that he would be caught between the armies of the Crown Prince and Frederick Charles, fell back on Königgrätz.

b. The Battle.

Frederick Charles attacked Benedek, who took troops from his right to strengthen his defense. The Austrians stubbornly defended the hill Chlum, the key of their position, and seemed likely to defeat Frederick Charles, but the arrival of the Crown Prince on Benedek's denuded right was followed by the utter rout of the Austrians, who lost nearly 80,000 men. The Prussian victory was due to superior strategy, better infantry tactics and the deadly effect of the Prussian needle-guns on the massed

colours of the Austrians. This single battle ended the campaign.

D. The Peace of Prague, August 23rd, 1866.

Bismarck feared that France might come to an agreement with Italy and that she might attack the Rhine frontier; he was not sure of Italy and knew that dissensions between Italian generals impaired the efficiency of the Italian army which had been defeated by the Austrians at Custozza on June 24th, 1866; he was not anxious to humiliate Austria because he knew that war between Prussia and France was probable, he therefore pointed the finger of King William to enter Vienna and to exact a cession of territory from Austria. His attempt to weaken Austria by stirring up disaffection in Hungary failed and Bismarck kept the country neutral.

(1) Napoleon's suggestions.

Bismarck wished to make Prussia superior over all Germany from which Austria was to be excluded, but Napoleon, hoping in the interests of France to keep Germany divided, refused to agree. He insisted that the integrity of Austria should be maintained and that Saxony should remain independent, but agreed to the incorporation in Prussia of Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Hesse-Darmstadt, Nassau and Frankfurt and to the formation of a German Confederation of States north of the Main under the leadership of Prussia.

Bismarck agreed to these terms and Austria, seeing that France had made an agreement with Prussia, agreed to Preliminary of Peace at Stockholm on July 26th, 1866.

(2) Some difficulties.

a. Napoleon's demand for compensation.

Napoleon demanded the cession of the Eastern Provinces and part of Hesse-Darm-

sault. Bismarck absolutely refused to surrender any German territory.

[Later Napoleon demanded Belgium¹ and Luxemburg.²]

b. Russia.

The Czar Alexander II protested against any fundamental alteration of the German Constitution and Great Britain joined in this protest; he feared the impending increase of the power of Prussia; as the champion of Legitimacy he objected to the overthrow of the dynasties of the German States; he demanded that a European Congress should be held to settle all questions. Bismarck refused to agree to a Congress, partly through fear that Napoleon might seize the opportunity to secure more territory for France; he threatened to stir up another insurrection in Poland; he finally pacified the Czar by promising the help of Prussia in his Eastern policy.

c. Italy.

Victor Emmanuel demanded the Tyrol as well as Venetia.

(2) The terms of the Treaty.

a. The German Confederation was destroyed and Austria withdrew from German affairs, paid an indemnity to Prussia but lost no territory except Venetia.

b. Prussia received the Duchy Duchies, Magdeburg, Magdeburg, Magdeburg, part of Hesse-Darmstadt and Frankfurt, and was recognized as leader of the North German Confederation composed of all the German States that lay to the north of the Main.

c. Italy received Venetia (but not the Tyrol).

¹ Page 288.

Page 288.

d. Prussia recognised the independence of Saxony, who joined the North German Confederation. But Prussia retained control of the military organisation and diplomacy of Saxony.

[August 18th–October 21st. Prussia made treaties with Württemberg, Bavaria, Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt and Saxony from whom she exacted indemnities.]

K. Results of the War.

(1) Germany.

Although Napoleon thought that he had broken Germany into halves the Peace of Prague promoted the unity of non-Austrian Germany.

(2) Prussia.

Prussia became the leading State in Germany, and made her territory more compact by additions which increased its population by four millions. But Prussia had shown herself as "a power cynically regardless of any considerations but those of might and self-interest,"¹ an impression which was confirmed in 1814.

(3) Austria.

Austria, relieved of her connection with Germany and Italy, reorganised her Empire, concluded with Hungary the *Ausgleich* of 1867 and adopted a more vigorous Eastern policy.

(4) France.

Bismarck had long realised the danger to Germany of the policy of Napoleon III. The danger of war with Austria led him to come to an understanding with Napoleon; when Austria had been engaged and an alliance concluded with Italy he was able to venture for war with France. Koenigsberg led to Sedan.

¹ Tarry.

IV. The Formation of the North German Confederation.

Bismarck's position in Prussia was strengthened by the defeat of Austria and by his turn in asking for a Bill of Indemnity for taking loans which had not been voted by Parliament. The Liberal party now divided; the Radicals continued to oppose Bismarck, but the National Liberal party supported him and combined with the Conservatives to give him a majority in military and diplomatic questions.

The Liberal party had always been German rather than Prussian, and as "North Germany was now Prussian, the time had come when Bismarck could begin to think and act as a German, for the power of Prussia was founded on a rock of bronze."¹

July 18th, 1866. When Prussia withdrew from the German Confederation Bismarck invited some of the North German States to form a Confederation.

February 24th, 1867. Meeting in Berlin of a Constituent Assembly of the North German States elected by universal suffrage; on April 16th, 1867, the Assembly adopted the new Constitution.

July 1st, 1867. The new Constitution, which had been approved by the separate States, came into force.

A. The Constitution.

The North German Confederation was not a Confederation of States but a Federal State with twenty-seven members including the Kingdoms of Prussia and Saxe-Weimar, five Grand Duchies, five Duchies, seven Principalities and three Free Cities: Hamburg, Bremen and Lübeck.

(1) The Presidency (*Präsident*).

The King of Prussia was President and was the Executive. He "held all the powers," was head of the Federal government and Federal army, sovereign

¹ Rueden-Morley.

for home affairs; convoked and dissolved the Reichstag, appointed the Chancellor (*Bundeskanzler*), who presided over the *Bundesrat*.

There was no suggestion of parliamentary control. There was no Federal Ministry. The "Chancellor alone represented the Federal Government before the Reichstag, the other ministers of the Confederation were only his clerks."

(2) The Federal Council (*Bundesrat*).

The Federal Council, an aristocratic body, consisted of deputies from the various States. Prussia had seventeen deputies; no other State had more than four.

(3) The Reichstag.

The Reichstag, of two hundred and ninety-seven members, was elected by universal suffrage. It could vote only on proposed changes in the law and on the budget.

B. Powers of the Federal and Local Governments.

Bismarck said that his object was "to find the minimum of concession which the several States must make to the whole in order that it may live," and "to demand of the State governments only those sacrifices which are indispensable for the success of a national community."

The Federal Government controlled the army and navy, international relations, commerce, transport and customs; established common systems of money, weights and measures and banking; exercised legal jurisdiction in economic and judicial matters.

Considerable powers were left to the *Landtag*s or *Landesparlamente*, which kept their own systems of legislation, administration, finance, public works, public worship and education.

C. General.

The Constitution was a compromise between Particularism and Constitutionalism.

The Constitution met with opposition from Ultra-montanes; from Radicals, who feared that the new Constitution would limit the power of the Prussian parliament and objected to the great power conferred on the President; from the States incorporated in Prussia, which resented the loss of their independence; from Conservatives, who objected to universal suffrage.

But Bismarck carried his plan in spite of all opposition, including that of Hanover which strongly resented its inclusion in Prussia. The deposed King George refused the indemnity Prussia offered and Bismarck used the money to check the reactionary Guel party in Hanover and later to bribe the press.

The Constitution was a compromise between national unity and traditional State independence; it gave to Northern Germany for the first time a definite military system organised on Prussian lines and a united foreign policy. It made the King of Prussia not merely the instrument of a military monarchy but the representative of a great nation.

Bismarck felt that the success of the Constitution would depend upon the mutual confidence of the allies and appealed for their co-operation speedily to establish a national system. "Let us work quickly, gentlemen; let us place Germany in the saddle; she will know how to ride."

V. Prussia and the Southern States.

Although the Peace of Prague contemplated the foundation of a South German Confederacy, mutual jealousy between the Southern States prevented such a Confederacy from being established and disappointed the hope of Napoleon III that Germany would be divided into two nations.

But the Southern States did not wish to join the North German Confederation. Bavaria and Württemberg were determined to maintain their independence; the severity and harshness of the Prussian character made Prussia intensely unpopular; the old tradition of union with Austria still persisted in some quarters and particularly among the Ultramontanes of Bavaria; Liberals objected to the absolutist traditions of Berlin; Austria thought that the Peace of Prague precluded the union of Northern and Southern Germany, and the danger of an Austro-French alliance against Prussia made Bismarck abstain from giving offence to Austria.

A. The August Conventions, 1866.

The Southern States had long regarded France as their friend and were unfriendly towards Prussia; all, except Baden, had asked for the help of Napoleon in their negotiations with Prussia.

Bismarck now published in *Le Soleil* the demands Napoleon had made for the cession of Mainz and the left bank of the Rhine. The Southern States, in fear of France, reversed their policy and offensive and defensive Treaties of Alliance with Prussia were made by Württemberg on August 3rd, 1866, Baden on August 17th and Bavaria on August 22nd. By these treaties the King of Prussia was given command of the Southern armies in case of national war and Prussian military discipline was introduced.

B. The Extension of the Zollverein, 1867.

Every measure of the Zollverein required the unanimous support of all the members and changes in policy were difficult to make. The Main was a political and not an economic boundary, and the interests of South German trade were bound up with those of the North German Confederation.

June 4th, 1867. A Customs Parliament¹ was estab-

¹ *Zollparlament*.

held in Berlin in which members elected by universal suffrage from Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden and Hesse-Darmstadt united with the representatives of the North German Confederation to manage the economic business of Germany. Political considerations led the representatives of Bavaria and Württemberg to adopt a hostile attitude to Prussia, but the obvious commercial advantages they derived from the new arrangement tended in time to lead the Southern States to regard with less apprehension the prospect of political union with the North.

C. General.

Bismarck had, by skilful diplomacy, induced the Southern States to make alliances with Prussia and to unite Germany by the bond of commerce. But there seemed no opportunity in Germany of inducing the Southern States voluntarily to form a political union with Prussia. "At the beginning of 1870 German unity seemed further off than in 1866."

VI. The German Empire.

Napoleon's desire to break the partial union of Germany effected by Prussia in 1866 was one of the reasons for the Franco-German War¹ which proved the final cause of the establishment of the German Empire. "The victory of Sedan was the foundation of German unity."

A. The Foundation of the Empire.

The German Empire was founded by separate treaties by which Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden and Hesse-Darmstadt joined the North German Confederation. The two latter readily agreed. Bavaria, in which there was a strong Catholic section which was adverse to Prussia, was reluctant to take a step which would limit

¹ Page 291.

its independence and Württemberg sided with Bavaria. King William I was unwilling to take a title which would change his old title of King of Prussia and involve elaborate ceremonial and a magnificent court, and refused to accept the imperial title unless it was offered by the Princes of Germany.

Bismarck won over Bavaria by conceding that the title should be "German Emperor," which implied no authority over German soil, and not "Emperor of Germany"; he agreed that in the new Empire Bavaria should be exempt from the Prussian military code, retain her own posts and telegraphs, and her own laws regarding marriage and citizenship. King Louis realized that the defined authority of the German Emperor was better than the indefinite claims of the King of Prussia based on superior military force, and proposed to William in the name of the Princes that he should take the new title.

January 18th, 1871. King William I of Prussia was proclaimed German Emperor at Versailles, although Bavaria had not yet formally approved.

B. General.

(1) Germany a Federation.

The Empire was "the supreme symbol of the unity of Germany." But Germany remained a confederation of more or less independent States and their sovereigns continued to exercise great influence in the Empire.

(2) A military Empire.

The ultimate basis of the Empire was the military power of Prussia and the new Empire was "old Prussia with large"; the establishment of such an Empire in Central Europe changed the neighbouring countries, which developed their military resources to meet possible aggression from Germany; the baroque Armed Peace which lasted from 1871 to 1914 was due to the establishment of the German Empire.

The bitterness caused in France by the loss of Alsace-Lorraine made another war between France and Germany inevitable.

The Treaty of Frankfurt¹ became one of the causes of the Great War.

(3) *Not a democratic Empire.*

No attempt was made to guarantee any fundamental rights for individual Germans. The Emperor kept in the Empire the power he exercised in Prussia as King. The sovereignty of the Empire belonged not to the German people, but to the Emperor and the Federal Council.

(4) *Not purely National.*

The German Empire did not include the Austrian Germans; it included non-German elements, the French of Alsace-Lorraine, the Danes of Schleswig and the Poles of Posen.

(5) *The work of Bismarck.*

Bismarck was the architect of the Empire; he had used and stimulated the national feeling of Germany and made Prussia the undisputed leader of United Germany. Without him the German Empire would not have come into being, but he owed much to the staunch support of the Emperor, whose personal popularity facilitated Bismarck's work, and to the work of Boen and Moltke in reorganising and directing the Prussian army.

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THE RISORGIMENTO¹

THE HOUSE OF SAVOY

CHARLES EMANUEL I THE GREAT
(Duke of Savoy)
1688-1730.

Princes of Carignano.

Victor Amadeus III,
King of Sardinia.
1773-1796.

Charles Emmanuel
d. 1800.

Charles Albert,
King, 1801-1848.

Victor
Emmanuel I.,
King of
Sardinia, 1849,
King of Italy,
1861.
d. 1878.

Humbric²
King, 1878-1900.

Victor
Emmanuel,
1900-

Charles
Emmanuel IV,
King,
1796-1802.
c.s.p.

Victor Emmanuel I
King, 1802-1821.
c.s.p.

Charles
Felix,
King,
1821-1831.
c.s.p.

The suppression of the Risings of 1821 and 1832² left Austria supreme in Italy. She ruled Lombardy and Venetia with severity; she supported the absolute rule of Pope Gregory XVI (1823-1846) in Rome and of Ferdinand II (1830-1859) in Naples and Sicily; the Duke of Tuscany ruled in accordance with her wishes; the Dukes of Modena, Parma and Lucca were her vassals. The Guelphs had lost their influence in politics; "Young Italy" plotted without success.

But from 1848 Italy was in a state of "more or less veiled insurrection."

¹ The Resurrection of Italy.

² Page 28.

I. The Influence of Literature.

Literature now gave a strong impulse to political thought.

A. Gioberti.

1842. Publication of Gioberti's *Monod and Political Unity of Italy*¹ in which he advocated the union of Italy under the leadership of the Pope.

B. Ameglio.

1846. In his *Recent Events in Rome*² Ameglio exposed the misgovernment of the Pope and advocated national union.

C. Settembrini.

1847. In his *Process of the People of the Two Sicilies* Settembrini attacked the atrocious government of Ferdinand II and urged the need of the union of Italy.

D. The Scientific Congresses.

The Scientific Congresses which met from 1839 to 1847 became centres of Liberalism.

E. The Press.

The movement was strongly supported by the press, especially by Garçon's paper *Il Risorgimento*.

II. The Nature of the Risorgimento.

The *Risorgimento* was rather a common sentiment than a party; it had no organisation. It was Liberal in its advocacy of reform and national in its support of Italian unity and hatred of Austrian rule, but differences arose as to the methods by which these ends might be attained.

¹ *Principio morale e civile degli Italiani.*

² *Storia Civile di Roma.*

A. Mazzini.

Mazzini represented the cosmopolitan spirit of the Revolution; nationality was to be the lever which would raise the world to a level of cosmopolitanism, and his devotion to Italy led him to make the establishment of an Italian national government in the form of a Republic his first object; he advocated the use of revolutionary methods when necessary. A lack of practical ability and an unwillingness to recede from his extreme position prevented Mazzini from effecting the reforms he desired, but he played a great part in the *Risorgimento* by his inspiring teaching which prepared Italy for independence.

B. The Piedmontese Party.

This party regarded King Charles Albert, in spite of his abdication in 1848,¹ and his Kingdom of Sardinia as the leaders of Italy in her struggle for national unity and independence of foreign rule. His people were devoted to their royal house; his army was national in sentiment; by favouring agriculture and supporting railway extension he had developed the material resources of his country. But Charles Albert's hatred of revolutionary principles and the influence of the supporters of Austria prevented him from taking active measures and earned for him the nickname of "The Hectating King."²

C. The Papal Party.

The Papal Party hoped that the unity of Italy would be accomplished "by the moral force of a reformed and reforming Papacy," and that a Pope who took full use of his spiritual power would become the head of a federation of independent Italian States.

¹ Page 53.² *See* Timmer.

III. Liberal Movements in 1842.

A. Pius IX, 1846-1848.

June 17th, 1846. Following the death of the reactionary Gregory XVI, Cardinal Giovanni Mastai Ferretti, Bishop of Imola, was elected Pope in preference to the Austrian candidate, and took the title of Pius IX.

He had adopted the principles of Moderate Reform and his early measures delighted the Liberals and strengthened the growing feeling against Austrian rule.

(1) The Amnesty.

July 16th, 1846. Pius IX issued his Amnesty for political offenders. The Amnesty aroused such enthusiasm that its author became "the father of the political resurrection of Italy"¹; it was in substance the rehabilitation of patriotism; it really involved, although Pius did not see this, war with Austria and the independence of Italy.

(2) Other Reforms.

March, 1847. The rigorous censorship of the Roman Press was mitigated.

April, 1847. The Pope appointed a Council of State formed of laymen, and the hitherto unquestioned authority of the College of Cardinals was challenged.

July, 1847. The Pope allowed the officers to form a City Guard.

March 16th, 1848. The Pope granted a Liberal Constitution: "The Fundamental Statute for the temporal government of the States of the Church."²

3) Ferrara.

July 17th, 1847. Austria, rejecting the demand for liberalism, occupied Ferrara. The Pope protested. Great Britain and France sent their fleets.

¹ *Macmillan's Modern History*, Vol. XI, page 54.

to Naples; Charles Albert declared he would fight against Austria if war resulted.

The Austrians therefore evacuated Ferrara, and the Pope was regarded as the champion of Italian independence.

B. Sardinia.

Charles Albert, who hitherto had been checked by his absolutist ministers and the Jesuits, who favoured Austria, now definitely turned against Austria, and introduced Liberal measures of reform.

(1) Anti-Austrian policy.

He started against Austria a tariff war which made him the champion of the material interests of Italy; allowed Genoa, in 1846, publicly to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the expulsion of the Austrians; in 1847 he declared "if God should permit me some day to see a war of Independence, I shall take my place at the head of the army."

(2) Liberal measures.

He abolished privileged courts, limited the censorship of the press and the authority of the police over government servants; he gave greater authority to town councils.

March 9th, 1848. Charles Albert, who realised that the co-operation of the Liberals was essential in the impending war with Austria, gave a Liberal Constitution to Sardinia.

C. Turin.

A Liberal Agitation in Lyons, where the movement was revolutionary, Pisa and Florence, compelled the Grand Duke to introduce reforms similar to those which Pisa IX had introduced at Rome.

February 17th, 1848. The Duke granted a Liberal Constitution.

D. Naples and Sicily.

January 18th, 1848. A successful rising at Palermo was followed by the expulsion of Neapolitan troops from Sicily and a rising in Naples.

February, 1848. Ferdinand II proclaimed a Constitution and formed a Liberal Ministry.

E. Austrian Italy.

In Lombardy and Venetia the hostility of the middle class towards Austria grew stronger and the nobles and clergy began to adopt the same attitude. In these countries the movement was one of Nationality as well as Reform.

1847. Imprisonment of Marini and Tommaseo for extremist speeches at the Scientific Congress in Venice.

January, 1848. "The Basking Biots" in Milan, where the people, enraged by the heavy tariff, had boycotted Austrian tobacco and stoned Austrian officers who smoked cigars in the street.

F. General.

Liberalism seemed triumphant except in Lombardy and Venetia, and even here the danger of revolution seemed so serious that Metternich established military rule under Radetzky in place of the police system which was unable to control the rising agitation.

References : See end of next section.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1848

I. The Outbreak of the Revolution.

The spread of Liberalism had been everywhere accompanied by intense hatred of the Austrian rule. The Austrian Government, disorganised and threatened with

a national rising in Hungary, could send little help to Radetzky, who, realising the importance of the danger, made a strong strategic base in the Quadrilateral, which was bounded on one side by the Adige with its fortresses of Verona and Legnano, and on the other by the Mincio¹ with its fortresses of Mantua and Peschiera. The news of the February Revolution² in Paris encouraged the Italians: the rising of March 18th in Vienna³ and the flight of Metternich the next day caused an immediate outbreak. "In the face of immediate ruin the government of Lombardo-Venetia went peacefully to pieces."

A. Milan.

March 18th-22nd, 1848. "The First Glorious Days."

The Viceroy Aulic, his deputy was compelled to hand over the government to the Municipal Council. Radetzky attacked the barricades which were erected but the reinforcements he expected failed to reach him because the Italians broke down the bridges; he lost many men in intense street fighting and on March 22nd retreated to the Quadrilateral.

B. Venice.

The Government were paralysed; Manin was released; the Governor was compelled to allow the formation of a National Guard which, led by Manin, seized the Arsenal.

March 22nd, 1848. Manin proclaimed the Republic of Venice.

C. Modena and Parma.

The Austrians evacuated Modena. The Duke of Parma was expelled and a Constitution proclaimed.

D. Sardinia.

Sardinia was eager for war, and Cavour declared, in *Il Risorgimento*, "The hour of fate has struck for the

¹ Page 215.

² Page 222.

Sardinian monarchy. One road only is open, that of immediate war." But Charles Albert wavered, partly because Great Britain and France advised him not to make war on Austria; he did not declare war on Austria until March 23rd, and he did not accept the invitation of Milan and cross the Ticino into Lombardy until March 25th; by his most unfortunate delay he lost the opportunity of cutting off Radetzky's army on its retreat from Milan.

E. The National Movement.

At first all the Italian States seemed anxious to unite with Sardinia against Austria.

(1) The Pope.

The Pope, who opposed war with Austria, though the concessions he had made were ample and refused to expel the Jesuits, was forced to allow Papal troops under D'Azeglio to join Charles Albert.

(2) Naples.

Ferdinand II ordered an army of 40,000 Neapolitan troops under General Pepe to march into Lombardy.

(3) Tuscany.

April 15th, 1848. The Grand Duke Leopold II declared war on Austria and sent a force of 6000 men.

(4) Parma and Modena.

Parma and Modena joined Sardinia.

(5) Milan.

March 24th, 1848. Charles Albert entered Milan.

F. Weakness of the National Movement.

(1) Differences of policy.

Differences of opinion and policy greatly weakened the National movement. The Abolitionists, who were strongest in Naples, desired the restoration of their

former sovereign. Mazzini's followers, who gained considerable support from the cities of Genoa, Milan, Rome and Leghorn, and were strongest in Central Italy, advocated a Republic. The Constitutionalists, who were strongest in the North, wished to establish a constitutional monarchy and to make Italy into a Federal State. The Sardinians looked to the extension of the Kingdom of Sardinia into a Kingdom of Italy.

Owing to Charles Albert's delay, the Austrians had now expelled without the help of Sardinia, and although the higher and wealthier classes favoured the idea of allying with Sardinia, a strong and noisy element advocated a Republic. Mazzini proclaimed a Republic in Venice on March 22nd.

(2) Military difficulties.

The Sardinian army of 63,000 men was the only Italian army available for immediate service and two-thirds of the army were in reserve. The King was reluctant to oppose Austria alone, at great risk to his dynasty, in order to establish Republics in Milan and Venice.

(3) Jealousy of Sardinia.

Some of the princes were jealous of Sardinia and feared that her policy was inconsistent with their independence.

II. The War in the Adriatic of Tivizzano or Salorno, August, 1848.

A. Defections.

(1) The Pope.

The Pope, although anxious to see the foreigners retire from Italy, wished to avoid a quarrel with Austria, a strong Catholic State, partly because such a quarrel would increase the danger of a revolt in Germany.

April 29th, 1848. In an Allocution to the Cardinals he declared that the idea of a war with Austria was "wholly abhorrent" to him. The idea of the Pope as a popular, national leader was shattered, and the knowledge of his attitude weakened the energy of Durando's troops.

ccc. Naples.

✓ An attempt of the Radicals to stir up a new revolution was crushed and the new Chambers which met on May 15th were prorogued the same day and soon dissolved. Ferdinand made an attempt to enforce the Constitution and ordered Pope and his troops to return to Naples. Most returned but Pope and 2000 Neapolitan troops disobeyed the order and joined Charles Albert.

Although Lombardy declared for union with Sicily on May 29th, 1848, and Venice on July 4th, 1848, neither gave material help to Charles Albert, who was hampered by the slow advance of the armies of Durando and Pope. The Sicilian Parliament, in July, 1848, offered the crown to Charles Albert's son, the Duke of Genoa. If Charles Albert had seized the occasion to assume the crown of Italy he might "have anticipated the work of 1860 by rallying behind him all the nationalist sentiment throughout the peninsula."¹

B. Early Successes of Charles Albert.

Charles Albert now attacked the Quadrilateral.

✓ April 30th, 1848. He forced the passage of the Mincio at Goleto and meant to strike at Verona, but was checked and repulsed against Peschiera.

May 22nd, 1848. Strong reinforcements, which the Lombard allies of Sicily failed to check, reached Radetzky from Austria, which thought it more important

¹ Alison Phillips.

to reassert its authority in Italy than to concentrate on opposition to Liberalism at home.¹

May 30th, 1848. Charles Albert took Peschiera and the Sardinians defeated Radetzky at Gitsa.

C. The Armistice of Vigevano or Salasco.²

Charles Albert failed to follow up his success, and Radetzky, in spite of his defeat, overran Trentino (that did not take Venice) and captured Vienna on June 15th, 1848, and Padua on June 16th.

July 28th, 1848. Radetzky routed Charles Albert at Custozza. The latter fell back upon Milan, but evacuated Milan on August 6th and retired into Piedmont.

August 6th, 1848. Radetzky entered Milan and soon regained Lombardy.

August 9th, 1848. The Salasco Armistice restored the status quo ante bellum, but Venice kept its Republic.

D. General.

The campaign had ended the career of the Moderate Monarchist Party and put out of the question any idea of establishing a Federal State. "Henceforward the idea of a United Democratic Italy everywhere held the field." The Democrats now directed their efforts to secure popular governments in the States of Italy in the hope that an Italian Republic would be formed which would be strong enough to drive the Austrians out of Italy.

III. Democracy and Reaction.

The revolutionary party, encouraged by the failure of the Moderates, now tried to secure supremacy, but the Liberal extremists failed to obtain their object and proved the best allies of the Austrians.

¹ Page 345.

² Often called the Salasco Armistice from the name of the village where it was signed.

A. Democracy.

(1) Tuscany.

October 27th, 1848. The Grand Duke was compelled to appoint a Democratic Ministry, including Guerrazzi the novelist.

February 8th, 1849. A provisional government was established under Guerrazzi and the feeling in favour of a Republic was stimulated by the presence of Mazzini, although a Republic was not actually proclaimed.

February 11th, 1849. The Grand Duke fled and, having decided to rely upon the help of Austria, joined the Pope at Gaeta.

(2) Rome.

Great dissatisfaction had been caused by the failure of the Pope to carry out reform and by his refusal to break with Austria.

a. Rossi.

September 18th, 1848. Appointment of Pellegrino Rossi as chief minister of the Pope. He aimed at maintaining good relations between the Romans and the Pope and at enlisting the support of the Papacy for the cause of Italian liberty. He offended the extremists by checking disorder, the reactionary party by supporting reform, the patriots by opposing immediate war with Austria.

November 15th, 1848. Assassination of Rossi.

November 16th, 1848. The Pope was forced to appoint a Democratic Ministry.

b. Flight of the Pope.

November 28th, 1848. Flight of the Pope to Gaeta. The Pope's flight showed that he had definitely abandoned the national cause.

February 5th, 1848. A Roman Republic was proclaimed and the temporal power of the Pope abolished.

(2) Venice.

August 19th, 1848. The union between Venice and Sardinia did not become effective and a provisional government under the Presidency of Manin was established.

B. Sardinia.¹

Their defeat at Custozza had broken the Sardinian army, the exchequer was empty, discontent was general.

(i) The war renewed.

December, 1848. Giolitti, the new minister, tried to avert foreign intervention in favour of the Pope and the Grand Duke of Tuscany by inducing Sardinia to restore them to their territories and to form a Federal Union. But the Democrats refused to agree to the proposed restoration; the mediation of Great Britain and France proved ineffective. Feeling against Austria was increased by the brutality of Radetzky and the flight of many refugees from Lombardy to Piedmont; Sardinia, and particularly Charles Albert, demanded a renewal of the war, especially as Austria had now to deal with revolution in Hungary.²

(ii) Novara.

March 12th, 1849. Sardinia terminated the Salasco Armistice and renewed the war. Charles Albert gave the command of his army to the Polish General Grombowski and Sardinia faced Austria alone.

¹ The kingdom of Sardinia consisted of Sardinia, the coast of Genoa, Savoy and Piedmont, of which the last was by far the most important and active. To a large extent the history of the kingdom of Sardinia is the history of Piedmont.

² Page 166.

Radetsky invaded Piedmont knowing that if he defeated the Sardinians he would easily suppress insurrections in Lombardy and Venetia.

March 12th, 1849. Radetsky utterly routed Charles Albert at Novara.

(2) Resignation of Charles Albert.

Charles Albert resigned in favour of his son, Victor Emmanuel II, and went into exile at Oporto, where he died on July 28th, 1849. His noble self-sacrifice atoned for his failure in war; he was regarded as a martyr to the cause of Italian independence and soon the sentiment of Italy was to attach itself again to the House of Savoy.

March 26th, 1849. Victor Emmanuel agreed to evacuate Lombardy and the Duchies and to pay an indemnity of £2,840,000 to Austria, but he was to be excused payment if he cancelled the Constitution of 1848; Austria and Sardinia were to garrison Alessandria jointly.

[March 28th, 1849. Radetsky entered Milan.

March 30th, 1849. Brescia stormed by Haynau, who justly earned the nickname of "The Hyena of Brescia" for his brutality.

August 27th, 1849. Venice submitted to Austria.]

C. Reaction.

Austria regained her supremacy in the North, the Italian Princes were restored and on all sides reaction triumphed.

(1) Naples.

a. The Parliament dissolved

The Austrian victories confirmed Ferdinand II in his policy of reaction; he finally dissolved the Neapolitan Parliament on May 13th, 1849.

b. The reconquest of Sicily.

The defeat of Garibaldi encouraged him to reconquer Sicily, which had rebelled, established a provisional government at Palermo and refused to receive Charles Albert's second son as King.

September, 1848. Messina was captured by Neapolitan troops after a terrible bombardment which gained for Ferdinand II the nickname of "Bomba." The admiral of the British and French fleets, desiring to check the cruelty of the successful troops, proposed an armistice which encouraged the Sicilians to continue their opposition.

April 7th, 1849. The Neapolitans captured Catania and,

May, 18th, 1849. Palermo.

c. Ferdinand's revenge.

Ferdinand now took a brutal revenge on those who had supported the Constitution. About 30,000, of whom Settembrini and Porzio were the best known, were imprisoned and treated with the greatest brutality. Gladstone asserted that Ferdinand's government was "the negation of God erected into a system of Government."

(5) Rome.

a. Foreign intervention.

The Pope invited the Catholic powers to restore him to Rome. The Roman Assembly handed over the government to a Triumvirate of which Mazzini was the head.

(i) Austria.

Austria invaded the Papal States, took Bohingen on May 18th and Ascona on July 19th, 1849.

(6) Naples.

Ferdinand II tried to help the Pope but his troops were routed by Garibaldi at Palermo on May 30th and Volturno on May 19th, 1849.

(7) France.

Napoleon, urged by the Catholic Party in France to restore the Pope, and wishing to weaken the growing power of Austria in Italy, sent a French force under Oudinot.

April 30th, 1849. Garibaldi repulsed Oudinot's first attack on Rome. Ferdinand de Lesseps failed to reconcile the Romans and the Pope.

June 2nd-June 30th, 1849. Mazzini, who fought in person, and Garibaldi heroically defended Rome.

July 1st, 1849. The French entered Rome and restored the authority of the Pope. End of the Roman Republic. Garibaldi escaped to Piedmont and soon went to America. Mazzini fled to Switzerland.

B. The Pope's Government restored.

The three Cardinals who acted for the Pope restored the Inquisition and showed such cruelty to the Liberals that Napoleon intervened. The Pope, by the *Edict Motu Proprio*, established a State Council for Finance and Provincial and Communal Councils; he granted an amnesty, but excepted 7206 former opponents from its benefits; he refused to restore the Constitution.

April 12th, 1850. The Pope returned to Rome.

Arrogelli practically governed Rome and the Papal States and "the pall of priestly absolutism and misrule fell once more over the Roman States."

(2) *Tuscany.*

April, 1848. The Moderates, hoping to avert Austrian intervention, restored the Grand Duke Leopold II. But the Austrians having taken Leghorn, entered Florence on May 25th, 1849.

May 6th, 1849. The Grand Duke abolished the Constitution of 1848 and Giannini was banished from Tuscany.

(4) *Modena.*

Duke Francis V was restored by the Austrians and re-established autocratic government.

(3) *Parma.*

Duke Charles III was restored by the Austrians and governed with such brutality that he was assassinated on March 28th, 1854.

(4) *Lombardy and Venetia.*

Radetzky acted as military dictator. His brutal rule was marked by military executions, floggings, which particularly exasperated the Italians, and imprisonments; it led to several unsuccessful Republican conspiracies in which the influence of Mazzini appeared, at Modena, in 1838—the infamous Mantuan Trials aroused the indignation of Europe—at Milan and Venice in 1853.

(7) *General.*

The forces of reaction seemed to have triumphed and Austrian power appeared to be established in Lombardy, Venetia and the Duchies.

But the National Society continued to exist and to diffuse the national idealism which had been strengthened by Charles Albert's devotion in 1848.

The failure of the Republican conspiracies in Lombardy discredited the party of Mazzini and the Moderates in all States looked to Sardinia for help.

Victor Emmanuel II refused to accept the Constitution which his father had given to Sardinia, and "in the fidelity of Victor Emmanuel to the Sardinian Constitution lay the pledge that when Italy's next opportunity should arrive the chief would be there who would meet the nation's need."¹

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ITALY FROM THE REACTION OF 1849 TO THE TREATY OF ZÜRICH

I. The Development of Sardinia.

A. Victor Emmanuel II.

Victor Emmanuel II was a soldier rather than a statesman, but he saw that Sardinia might become supreme in Italy by adopting the policy of the Moderate Liberals, who were now the chief advocates of the union of Italy; he showed courage and great resolution in pursuing his main object in spite of the opposition of the Republican followers of Mazzini and the reactionary party.

¹ Fyfe.

(1) The Constitution.

He refused to annul the Constitution of 1848 although he would have secured the cancellation of the war indemnity; on March 25th, 1849, he swore fidelity to the Constitution but was received very coldly by the Chambers, which disapproved of the recent armistice.¹ He kept the tricolour flag, the symbol of united Italy, maintained the liberty of the press and gave an asylum to Liberal refugees. A revolt of Mosaicist Republicans at Genoa added to the King's difficulties but it was suppressed by La Marmora.

(2) The Treaty of Peace.

August 6th, 1849. The treaty of peace was signed between Austria and Sardinia; the intervention of France and Great Britain led to the reduction of the indemnity by two-thirds and the Austrians evacuated Alexandria.

The Sardinian Chambers refused to ratify the treaty and were dissolved.

January 5th, 1850. The King appealed directly to the electors and the new Chambers ratified the treaty.

B. Cavour becomes Chief Minister.

(1) The Siccardi Laws.

The privileges of the ecclesiastical courts in Piedmont were inconsistent with the equality of all citizens before the law which was involved in the Constitution.

a. The laws.

February, 1850. Giuseppe Siccardi, who had failed to induce the Pope to make an amiable withdrawal, introduced, with Cavour's strong approval, the Siccardi laws which—

¹ Page 434.

- (i) abolished ecclesiastical courts (which hitherto had decided cases of heresy, tithes and marriage) ;
- (ii) abolished the right of sanctuary which belonged to churches ;
- (iii) forbade any corporation, ecclesiastical or lay, to acquire property without the consent of the Government.

b. The laws and political parties.

Cavour strongly supported the laws. His opposition to republicanism had led him hitherto to act with the Conservative Extreme Right, but as this party strongly opposed the laws he now joined the more moderate Right Centre. He bade his followers "advance far along the path of reforms, and fear not that they may be declared inopportune."

c. Clerical opposition.

The King, in spite of the strong remonstrances of the Clerical Party, assented to the laws; the Archbishops of Turin and Cagliari were exiled for advising their clergy to disobey the laws; the clergy refused to administer the last sacraments to Santarossa, Minister of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, who died on August 30th, 1850.

d. Cavour becomes Minister of Agriculture.

October 11th, 1850. Victor Emmanuel, with considerable hesitation, appointed Cavour Minister of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, but warned the other ministers that "this man will kick you all out."

(3) Cavour becomes Chief Minister.

November, 1852. Cavour was appointed Minister of Finance as well as of Agriculture and became the

Chief Minister although D'Azeglio was nominal head of the Ministry.

The Ricasoli laws and Cavour's economic policy further estranged him from the Right which had considerable sympathy with Austria; in its resentment against Cavour's Liberal policy, and encouraged by Napoleon's coup d'état of December, 1851,¹ the Right favoured a reactionary policy. Cavour saw that reaction would ruin his policy and that the triumph of the Left, which viewed the monarchy with suspicion, would prove equally fatal. He therefore, about February, 1852, arranged for the wedding, *amiable*, of his moderate Right Centre with Rattazzi's moderate Left Centre. The *amiable* proved too strong for D'Azeglio.

November 4th, 1852. Cavour became Chief Minister and the steady support of the *amiable* enabled him to carry out his policy.

(2) Cavour's Internal Policy, 1852-1859.

a. Economic.

He now adopted a commercial and economic policy which greatly increased the wealth of Piedmont.

Cavour, realising that he could not establish Free Trade as he would have liked, concluded commercial treaties based on low tariffs with separate Powers and thus cheapened necessities of life and the raw material of industry; extended the railways—the railway from Turin to Genoa was opened in 1854; improved the banking system; established *Co-operative Societies* and, partly, by *Agricultural Credits*, promoted the development of agriculture.

¹ Page 229.

b. Cavour and the Clergy.

The cost of his new reforms, the Austrian indemnity and a succession of bad harvests, particularly the failure of the corn, silk and wine harvests in 1853, compelled Cavour to find new methods of raising revenue.

1855. He imposed a tax on the estates of the Church, secularised the lands of decayed orders and suppressed many religious corporations. These measures aroused strong protests from the Pope, who tried to persuade Victor Emmanuel II that the deaths of his mother, brother and wife within a month were a divine punishment for his support of the measures.

April 28th, 1855. Cavour resigned when the King seemed willing to allow the bills to be withdrawn.

May 2nd, 1855. Cavour resumed office and the bills were passed.

c. The Army.

La Marmora thoroughly reorganised the army; Alexandria and Cairo were fortified.

(4) Sardinia and Italy.

The Kingdom of Sardinia, and particularly Piedmont, prospered greatly under Cavour's regime and identified herself with the cause of Italian nationality.

Refugees from Lombardy had settled in Piedmont and acquired citizenship of Sardinia. The Emperor had decreed on February 13th, 1855, that the property of refugees from Lombardy and Venetia was to be sequestrated. Cavour recalled the Sardinian ambassador from Vienna and sent a protest to the Powers against the tyranny of Austria. Austria treated both Cavour's protest and the friendly representations with which Great Britain and France supported it. The Sardinian Parliament

voted a subsidy in aid of the victims. Thus Sardinia "openly assumed the defence of Italians crushed under the unwarrantable outrages of Austria."

Some former Republicans now looked to Sardinia to champion the national cause, and Minni, formerly dictator of Venice, on September 18th, 1855, urged Victor Emmanuel to "make Italy" and promised him support.

The feeling against Austria grew stronger; Piedmontese newspapers openly attacked Austria; public subscriptions were raised to buy cannon for Alexandria.

II. The Compact of Florence, 1858.

A. The need of foreign help.

But Cavour, unlike the patriots of 1848, felt that Sardinia was not strong enough to attack Austria alone and sought to strengthen Sardinia and isolate Austria by foreign alliances. "He made it his object to obtain for Sardinia the respect and the friendship of the European Powers and he sternly repressed the revolutionary projects of Mazzini and his associates, which alienated all upholders of orderly government."¹

(1) Great Britain.

Public feeling in Great Britain supported the Italian cause; Cavour was a great admirer of the British Constitution. But Great Britain wished to maintain the treaty of 1815 and Sardinia needed an ally with a stronger army.

(2) France.

Napoleon had actually fought for the Italian cause and was of Italian descent. But the Clerical Party was so strong in France that Napoleon dared not support a policy which endangered the temporal

¹ Lodge.

power of the Pope; he favoured a Federation of Italian States under the presidency of the Pope rather than a united kingdom in which the King of Sardinia was supreme.

Thus although Great Britain and France had recently been affronted by Austria there seemed little probability, in 1858, that they would join Sardinia in opposing her.

B. The Crimean War, 1855.

The "equivocal neutrality" of Austria annoyed Great Britain and France, who badly needed military reinforcement.

January 30th, 1855. Sardinia joined Great Britain and France against Russia.

Cavour's action was criticised by the Liberals who objected to the assistance given to the reactionary Turkish Government, by some nationalists who objected to the use against Russia of forces that might be required to fight Austria in Italy, and by others who objected to the heavy financial outlay involved. But the King supported Cavour who, after a fierce struggle, secured the approval of the Sardinian Parliament for his action.

The Western Powers, who hoped that the action of Sardinia would force Austria to join them against Russia, refused Cavour's demands that the condition of Italy should be considered after the Crimean War was over and that they would induce Austria to restore to the refugees their sequestered property. Sardinia had to pay the whole cost of her share in the war and joined Great Britain and France without conditions.

But Cavour was right. He asserted that the alliance with Great Britain and France was "the only way that is afforded to us to help Italy in the present conditions of Europe."

If Austria had joined Great Britain and France the Western Powers could not, without gross ingratitude,

have opposed her in Italy and Sardinia might have been crushed. Austria's vacillation and Cavour's wise and prompt action averted this grave danger.

August 16th, 1855. La Marmora's victory on the Chernava restored the reputation the Sardinians had lost at Novara; it secured the approval of all classes for the Alliance; it helped Cavour, in spite of the protest of Austria, to take his place at the Conference of Paris in 1856 by the side of the representatives of the Great Powers.

C. The Conference of Paris.

(1) Cavour's success at Paris.

Although Sardinia received no additional territory, Cavour made an excellent use of the opportunities afforded at the Congress of Paris.

Differences had arisen between Great Britain and France, particularly about the Danubian Principalities, and Cavour supported France, knowing that Austria was the enemy and that Great Britain might talk but would never act.

April 8th, 1856. Cavour denounced Austria as the cause of all Italy's woes. He secured from the Great Powers an admission of the justice of his contention: "those same Powers have declared that it is necessary in the interests not only of Italy, but of Europe, to apply some remedy to Italy's ills." He made Sardinia appear as the champion of Italian nationalists.

(2) Russia.

a. Austria.

Austria now adopted a more conciliatory policy in Lombardy and Venetia, gave an amnesty to political prisoners and in December, 1856, cancelled the sequestration of refugees' property; the Emperor Francis Joseph visited Venice and Milan; his good-natured brother Maximilian was made Governor of Lombardy and Venetia.

But Menia declared: "We do not want Austria to mend her ways in Italy; we want her to go"; Milan gave to Turin a monument in honour of the Sardinian army; the Piedmontese newspapers attacked Austria with such violence that all diplomatic relations between the two countries were severed.

b. Mazzini.

Mazzini saw that the policy of Cavour rendered it impossible for his plan of an Italian Republic to be put into operation.

June, 1837. Failure of a Mazzinian plot at Genoa.

August, 1837. The Anti-Revolutionary National Society was founded to promote the unity of Italy through Sardinia and the House of Savoy.

D. The Campaign of Florentines, 1838.

The unsuccessful plot at Genoa practically marked the end of the attempt of the secret societies to settle the question of Italian unity by revolutionary methods. "From this time public opinion tends towards the idea of the political union of Italy—the one invaluable outcome of Mazzini's persistent preachings—but through, and by means of, Sardinia and the Savoy dynasty."¹

Napoleon felt that if he was to accomplish his desire of destroying the treaties of 1815 he might begin by helping Sardinia to expel the Austrians from Northern Italy. He hoped that he might be rewarded, by the cession of Savoy, which was more French than Italian and the cession of which would not lead to active opposition from the Powers, who would strongly resist any attempt to incorporate either Belgium or the Rhine Province in France.

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. XI, page 375.

(1) The Orsini bomb.

January 14th, 1858. Orsini, a Roman exile, tried to kill Napoleon by bombs. The Emperor escaped although about a hundred and fifty people were killed or wounded. Orsini sent a letter to Napoleon from prison urging the Emperor to support the cause of Italy.

Orsini's attempt aroused strong feeling and France and Napoleon urged Cavour to repress all revolutionaries. Cavour replied that popular feeling in Italy so strongly resented the French occupation of Rome, for which the Emperor was blamed, that there was a grave danger of further attempts against him.

Napoleon, partly from genuine sympathy with Italy, partly from fear of personal injury and partly because he resented the growing friendship between Great Britain and Austria, made with Cavour the Compact of Plombières.

(2) The Compact.

July 20th, 1858. Cavour and Napoleon held a secret meeting at Plombières and made the famous Compact.

a. Terms.

- (i) That France should supply 200,000 men and Austria 100,000 for war against Austria. Austria was to be expelled from Italy.
- (ii) That Lombardy, Venetia, the Duchies, the Romanesque, and perhaps Ancona, should be added to Sardinia; that France should receive Savoy, and possibly Nice, as payment for her assistance.
- (iii) That Umbria and Tuscany should be united into a Kingdom of Central Italy; that Naples should be left alone; that the Pope should retain Rome; that Naples, Central Italy, Rome and Sardinia should form an Italian federation under the suzerainty of Sardinia.

- (i) That Victor Emmanuel's daughter Clotilde should marry the Emperor's cousin, Prince Jerome Napoleon.

b. Criticism.

- (i) Napoleon felt that the Powers would not intervene: Russia strongly resented the ingratitudes Austria had shown in the Crimean War; Prussia was smarting under the "humiliation" of Olmitz¹; Great Britain, although the new Tory Government was less sympathetic to Italy than its predecessor, would not fight for Austria.
- (ii) Cavour did not like to give Italian territory to France and feared that the terms of the Compact would render it more difficult for Sardinia to unite Central Southern Italy in a united kingdom. But he felt that "for the moment the vital need is to get Austria out of Italy," and was willing to pay the price.
- (iii) Cavour had great difficulty in persuading Victor Emmanuel to allow Princess Clotilde to marry the infamous "Prince Florentino," and in persuading Italian Liberals, who thoroughly hated Napoleon, to make an alliance with France.

III. The War of Italian Liberation.

a. The Outbreak of War.

(1) Cavour's Difficulties.

i. Napoleon.

Cavour knew that Napoleon was unyielding and feared that he might break his promise to fight against Austria.

¹ Page 328.

On January 1st, 1815, Napoleon had said to the Austrian ambassador in Paris: "I regret that our relations with your government are not as good as they were"; on January 16th, 1815, the Treaty of Paris formally confirmed the Congress of Florence; on January 20th, 1815, Princess Clotilde married Prince Jerome.

But general opinion in France, and particularly the Imperial Court, disapproved of war with Austria; Great Britain, whom Napoleon was most anxious to conciliate, now worked earnestly for peace; Napoleon tried to win the support of France by including in his plans a war on the Rhine, although this plan would ensure the vigorous opposition of the German Diet.

3. Proposals of the Powers.

(1) Great Britain.

February, 1815. Great Britain, fearing that the friendly relations which were being established between France and Russia might lead to a Franco-Russian alliance and to the intervention of Russia on behalf of France if war broke out between France and Austria, proposed, in February, 1815, through Lord Cowley at Vienna, that the Austrians and French should evacuate the Papal States, that Austria should give up her controlling influence in Modena and Parma, that necessary reforms should be effected in all the Italian States, that steps should be taken to maintain peace between Austria and Sardinia and that a Confederation of Italian States should be established.

(2) Russia.

March, 1815. Russia proposed that a Congress of the Powers should be summoned to settle all Italian questions, although such a

Congress would probably reaffirm the treaties of 1815, which were inconsistent with the development of Italian unity under the leadership of Sardinia. Great Britain accepted the proposal and shelved Lord Corley's suggestions; Austria agreed with reluctance because Russia, Prussia and France were unfriendly towards her, but insisted that Sardinia should not be represented at the Congress and that she should disarm. Sardinia refused these conditions and the Congress never met.

(ii) Disarmament.

April, 1820. Great Britain and France proposed that France, Italy and Sardinia should disarm and Napoleon sent a peremptory telegram to Cavour ordering him to disarm his troops. Sardinia agreed to disarm her armies although Cavour knew that disarmament would "have the most calamitous consequences for the tranquility of Italy." He was so disgusted that he contemplated suicide.

c. Italian national feeling.

Cavour had done his utmost to rouse all the Italians against Austria. He favoured the secret propaganda carried on by the National Society in Central and Southern Italy; he welcomed the volunteers who poured into Piedmont from all parts; he formed many of these into a new corps, the Chasseurs of the Alps, and gave the command to Giuseppe Garibaldi who had commanded the Republican army in Rome. Great enthusiasm for the national cause was aroused by the declaration made at Turin by Victor Emmanuel on January 10th, 1820: "While we respect the frontiers, we are not insensible to the cry of war that comes to us from so many parts of Italy."

(2) *Austria declares war.*

Cavour was in great difficulties owing to the impossibility of reconciling the wishes of the Powers with the growing national feeling which insisted on war with Austria. He had done his utmost to provoke Austria in the hope that she would declare war and thus alienate any sympathy the other Powers might feel for her, and Austria played into his hands.

Austria, misled by the information sent by her ambassador at Paris that France would abandon Sardinia, adopted a more arrogant tone. She refused to disarm; an order of the day informed the Austrian army that "His Majesty the Emperor summons you to the standards in order to show, for the third time, the courage of Piedmont, and to hunt from their lair the fanatical subverters of the general tranquillity of Europe."

April 23rd, 1859. Austria, hoping to crush Sardinia before France intervened, and then to induce Germany to combine with her against France, issued an ultimatum demanding that Sardinia should disarm within three days.

April 24th, 1859. Austrian troops crossed the Ticino and Napoleon declared war on Austria.

2. *War.*

Austria ought to have struck at once at Turin and then to have used her troops to fight the French when they reached Italy. General Orléans wasted his time in profitless manœuvres; the French poured into Italy through Genoa and over the Monte Cenis Pass and united with the Sardinians who had made their headquarters at Alexandria. Milan was their object, and they struck at the line of the Po between Pavia and Piacenza.

(1) Early operations.

a. Mantova.

May 25th, 1859. Giselay, trying to check the advance on the Po, was routed at Mantova.

b. Palestro.

May 30th, 1859. The Sardinians routed Giselay at Palestro and this enabled Napoleon to carry out a flank movement from the Po to the Ticino.

c. Como.

Garibaldi took Como and advanced towards Bergamo and Brescia to cut off the retreating Austrians.

(2) Magenta.

June 4th, 1859. Giselay, who had been compelled by Napoleon's flanking movement to fall back over the Ticino to defend Milan, was routed by the Allies at Magenta. The battle had important results.

a. Northern Italy.

The Austrians crossed the Mincio and evacuated Lombardy.

June 11th, 1859. Victor Emmanuel II. and Napoleon III. entered Milan.

b. Central Italy.

The Grand Duke of Tuscany had left his duchy on April 27th, 1859; Victor Emmanuel refused the offer of the Dictatorship of Tuscany, but the interests of Sardinia were well served by Boncompagni, the representative of Victor Emmanuel, and Baron Ricciardi, a strong supporter of Italian unity.

After Magenta Austria withdrew its garrisons from the Duchies and the Papal States.

for the defence of Venetia. The Duchesse Regent of Parma and the Duke of Modena fled and in each duchy a provisional government re-enacted the act of union with Sardinia which had been voted in 1848. Romagna expelled the Cardinal-Legate, offered the dictatorship to Victor Emmanuel and maintained its independence. But Papal troops cruelly suppressed similar movements in the Marche and Umbria. Sardinian Commissioners were appointed: Pallieri to Parma, Farini to Modena, D'Azeglio to Bologna.

(3) Solferino, June, 1859.

June 24th, 1859. The Emperor Francis Joseph superseded Gladys and was advancing to recover Lombardy when he was utterly routed at Solferino, where each side lost about 14,000 killed and wounded. He fell back on the Quadrilateral.

C. The Armistice of Villafranca, July, 1859.

(1) Napoleon was anxious for peace.

Napoleon prevented the Italians from following up their victories. He knew that the victories of the Allies had been won with much difficulty and that a defeat would weaken his position in France; he was appalled at the slaughter of Solferino and knew that an attack on the Quadrilateral would entail enormous loss of life; he saw that Italy was likely to become, not a Federation under the patronage of France, but a United Kingdom whose interests might not coincide with those of France; Prussia, suspicious of Napoleon's designs on the Rhine, viewed with alarm his successes in Italy and mobilised troops on her western frontier; sympathy with the misfortunes of Austria was spreading in Germany; Napoleon feared that a war on the Rhine might be added to the war before the

Quadrilateral; the strong Clerical Party in France resented the injury which the success of the Italian war inflicting on the temporal power of the Pope and the Emperor Eugène and Walewski strongly opposed further operations.

July 8th, 1859. Napoleon, without consulting Victor Emmanuel, made an armistice with the Emperor Francis Joseph and met him on July 11th at Villafranca, where the two arranged terms of peace.

(1) Terms.

- a. Austria to give Lombardy to Napoleon, who would hand it over to Victor Emmanuel.
- b. Austria and France to support the establishment of an Italian Confederation under the suzerainty of the Pope.
- c. Austria to retain Venetia and the Quadrilateral.
- d. Modena and Tuscany to be restored to the Duke, Romagna to the Pope.
- e. Austria, though she disapproved, would not formally object to the union of Parma and Piacenza with Sardinia.

November 10th, 1859. The Treaty of Zürich formally confirmed the Preliminaries of Villafranca.

(2) Criticism.

The terms of agreement between Napoleon and Francis Joseph were a bitter disappointment to all Italians. Napoleon had promised that Italy should be "freed from the Alps to the Adriatic," and the promise was interpreted as involving the incorporation of the whole of Northern Italy in the Kingdom of Sardinia. The exclusion of Venetia was denounced as an act of treachery.

The establishment of a Federation in Italy was contrary to the policy of Cavour, who aimed at extending the Kingdom of Sardinia into a United Kingdom of Italy.

Cavour begged Victor Emmanuel to continue the war, but the King, although at first he had talked of continuing the war alone, refused the request and was violently upbraided by Cavour, who resigned office on July 12th, 1859. The King then accepted the terms of Villafranca with profound grief.

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Gardellini and the Thousand (Trevelyan), Longmans, chaps. i-vi.

SARDINIA AND THE CENTRAL STATES

The dismay with which the Italians received the recent settlement prevented them from realising immediately the substantial advantages they had gained.

Austria still held Venetia; was in strong sympathy with the Pope and the King of Naples; was anxious to restore the banished Duke and would exercise great influence in the proposed Federation.

But Sardinia was greatly strengthened by the addition of Lombardy: Italian national feeling had been greatly stimulated by the war, and Italy, realising that a loose Federation would not be able to resist Austria, looked to the strengthened Kingdom of Sardinia to maintain Italian liberty against Austria and the Italian reactionary States; "before Villafranca," said Cavour, "the union of Italy was a possibility; since Villafranca it is a necessity." Largely owing to the efforts of the National Society, the Central States, which had offered strong opposition to the Treaty of Zurich, decided to unite with Sardinia.

Palmerston, who became Prime Minister on the fall of Lord Derby's Conservative Ministry in June, 1858, favoured Italian unity, in the hope of withdrawing Italy from French influence, and Sir James Hudson, the British ambassador at Turin, strongly supported Cavour.

1. The Rattazzi-La Marmora Ministry, June, 1859, to January, 1860.

It was essential in the interests of Italy that the Duchies, Tuscany and the Romagna should be added to Sardinia. The new ministry was not strong enough to maintain the cause of Italian unity against Napoleon, but the spirited resistance of the Central States and the skill of Parini and Ricasoli materially helped the national cause.

A. Napoleon's Views.

Napoleon was willing that Parma, Piacenza¹ and perhaps Modena should be added to Sardinia; he hoped to solve the question of the Romagna but he strongly objected to the annexation of Tuscany. "If annexation passed the Apennines," he said, "the unity of Italy would be achieved. And I do not desire her unity, but only her independence, because unity would involve me, in internal peril by reason of Russia, and France would not be pleased to see the rise, on her flank, of a great nation that might be able to diminish her influence."

B. The Central States.

(1) The Chambers.

August-September, 1859. The Chambers of the Duchies and Central States resolved unanimously that they would not receive back their former rulers and that they would unite with Sardinia.

(2) The Commissioners.

The Sardinian Commissioners¹ were ordered to withdraw, but Parini was elected Dictator of Parma, Modena and the Romagna, and stayed on in that capacity. Ricasoli became practically Dictator in Tuscany after the withdrawal of Boncompagni.

¹ Page 425.

(3) Proposed union.

August 10th, 1859. Farini, realising the danger that Austria might restore the dispossessed Princes by force, formed a military league of Parma, Modena, Bologna and Florence, and it seemed likely that the four States would be united into one under the Regency of the Prince of Carignano as a preliminary to union with Sardinia. But the opposition of Risorgi and the refusal of Sardinia to agree frustrated the scheme.

C. Napoleon's New Plans.

A visit of Prince Jerome to Florence had led to strong declarations in favour of union with Sardinia. Napoleon was unwilling to allow Austria to strengthen her position in Italy by restoring the dispossessed Princes and came to the conclusion that the union of Central Italy and Sardinia was inevitable. A pamphlet, *The Pope and the Congress*, published with the Emperor's sanction, asserted that Rome and the Patriarchy of St. Peter were all the temporal possessions necessary to ensure the independence of the Pope. Napoleon now dismissed Walenis, the opponent of Italy.

D. Nice and Savoy.

(1) Napoleon's demands.

Savoy had been promised to Napoleon at Fontenoy, but his failure to establish a kingdom of Northern Italy had cancelled the promise.

In order to win the approval of France for his new policy, and especially to silence the protests of the Clerical Party against the destination of Papal territory, Napoleon now demanded that Savoy and Nice should be ceded to him. He rejected the proposal that a new European Congress should be held to settle the Italian question because he knew that the other Powers would refuse to agree to the cession of Nice and Savoy.

(3) Cavour resumes office.

Estimate was not strong enough to deal with the difficult problems of the time.

January 30th, 1860. Cavour resumed office and, knowing that Napoleon's troops at Milan might be used to hinder the union of Sardinia and the Central States, agreed that Nice and Savoy should be handed over to France provided that a plebiscite of the inhabitants ratified the union. A large majority of the population of Nice and Savoy ratified the union with France, and on March 24th, 1860, they were handed over by the Treaty of Turin.

Garibaldi, a native of Nice, strongly protested. But Savoy was connected with France by language and geographical position; Nice was neither Provençal than Piedmontese; the removal of the forward deputy, who supported the Papal cause, diminished the opposition in the Sardinian Parliament to the conquest of Papal territory.

B. The Central States.

Napoleon demanded that Tuscany should become an independent State. Cavour proposed that the Central States should decide their own destiny by a plebiscite.

March 11-12th, 1860. The population of Tuscany and Emilia voted for union with Sardinia by 750,000 votes to 16,000.

March 18th, 1860. Emilia, including Bologna, Modena, Parma and Piacenza, was declared by Victor Emmanuel to be part of the Kingdom of Sardinia.

March 22nd, 1860. The union of Tuscany with Sardinia was declared.

F. General.

Cavour saw that the union of the Central States with Sardinia was an essential step towards the union of Italy. For this the cession of Napoleon was necessary, and although the cession of Nice and Savoy aroused strong feeling in Italy and was resented by the Powers, it made the French "accomplices" of Sardinia and enabled Cavour to add the Central States to Sardinia in spite of the strong protests of the dispossessed Princes and of Pope Pius IX, who excommunicated all concerned.

April 2nd, 1860. Opening of the National Parliament at Turin.

References :

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XI, chap. xiv.

Cavour, "Harvest of the Nations," Pastorelli's, chap. xvi.

A History of Italian Unity (Barton King), Vol. II, chap. xxxix.

THE CONQUEST OF NAPLES

I. General Conditions.

Cavour aimed at uniting Italy into one kingdom and his aim ultimately involved the addition of Venetia, Naples and Rome to Sardinia. But the powerful Clerical Party in France would compel Napoleon to resist any attempt to abolish the Temporal Power of the Pope.

A. Francis II and Sardinia.

The King of Naples, Francis II, "Borbone," was jealous of Sardinia. On his accession, in 1835, the diplomatic relations between Sardinia and Naples, which had been broken off in 1821, were renewed, but Francis refused to make with Sardinia an alliance which Cavour wished to conclude as a counterpoise to Napoleon's

influence; Francis wished to unite with Austria and Spain against Sardinia but his attempt failed; he proposed in 1849 to seize Urbino and the Marche and to check the progress of the revolutionists in the Papal States, but gave up his design owing to Cavour's protests.

Naples and Sardinia were at peace and the disappearance of the Powers, which had been accused by the recent separation of the Central States, would be intensified if Sardinia tried to conquer Naples.

B. The Problem of Rome and the Papal Forces.

The Republicans and Garibaldi, who commanded the Etrurian army, were anxious to capture Rome, although any attempt to capture Rome, which was garrisoned by French troops, would probably involve war with France. The harsh rule of Antonelli, the cruelty with which the Papal forces had crushed a revolt in Perugia in 1849, had embittered the feeling against Rome.

There was a danger that the Papal troops, relieved by the presence of the French garrison from the task of defending Rome, might be used in an attempt to weaken the power of Sardinia in Central Italy; any such attempt would be strongly supported by Naples. A successful war against Naples would secure the possession of what Sardinia had already gained and greatly diminish the danger of Papal aggression.

But Cavour thought that the time was inappropriate for the acquisition of new territory and feared that the establishment of a revolutionary Republican government in Naples would prevent the union of Naples with the Kingdom of Sardinia.

II. Garibaldi.

A. Francis II of Naples.

The Liberals of Naples and Sicily had been aroused to new efforts by the recent success of Sardinia. Francis II

had made a few reforms but the reactionaries compelled him to dismiss his minister Falcogni early in 1860, and it was clear that reform could be secured only by successful rebellion. Francis disregarded the warning he received from Great Britain that his throne could be maintained only by reform, and again refused Cavour's demand that he should make an alliance with Sardinia, establish constitutional government and support the national Italian policy.

April 18th, 1860. Victor Emmanuel warned Francis that unless he changed his policy war between Sardinia and Naples was probable.

B. Garibaldi and "The Thousand."

(1) Garibaldi sails from Genoa.

Garibaldi, by order of Victor Emmanuel, had abstained from a direct attack on Rome, but in November, 1860, he resigned his command of the Eritrean army in order to be free to intervene in Sicily where the revolutionary party was plotting a revolt. He asked for help from Sardinia. In the existing conditions Cavour, although unwilling to veto an undertaking which if successful would promote the national cause, could not give him open support; but he allowed him to obtain arms, ordered the Genoese not to hinder his departure and told Fieschi, the Sardinian admiral, "to keep between Garibaldi's ships and the Neapolitan fleet."

April 4th, 1860. A rising at Palermo was crushed by Neapolitan troops.

May 5th, 1860. Garibaldi seized the *Legionario* and *Provinciale* in Genoa harbour and sailed for Sicily with "The Thousand"¹ volunteers, composed largely of professional men from the North of Italy and wearing their famous red shirts.

¹ Sicily almost always spelled.

(3) The conquest of Sicily.

May 11th, 1860. Garibaldi landed his men at Marsala, where Neapolitan cruisers captured the empty *Piemonte* and sank the *Lombardo*.

May 15th, 1860. Garibaldi routed the Neapolitans at Calatafimi. He told his men: "Here we make Italy or die."

May 27th, 1860. Garibaldi entered Palermo.

July 30th, 1860. Another defeat at Milazzo forced the Neapolitans to evacuate the town of Messina.

Garibaldi was loyal to Victor Emmanuel and his watchword was "Italy and Victor Emmanuel"; but he opposed the immediate occupation of Sicily by Sardinia for fear that the Sardinian Government might forbid him to invade Naples; he became Dictator of Sicily and departed Taranto, where Cavour had sent to "fuge association. Garibaldi failed to administer Sicily and the supreme authority was secured by Crispi and the Maffiatis. After some weeks of utter confusion Garibaldi recognised Depretis, a nominee of Cavour, as Pro-Dictator of Sicily.

C. Naples.

Cavour saw that Garibaldi was sure to invade Naples and feared that if he were successful it might be difficult to establish the authority of Sardinia. Cavour sent Perrone to win over the Neapolitan fleet and to stir up an insurrection, which might lead to the flight of the King before Garibaldi arrived.

August 18th, 1860. Garibaldi crossed the Straits of Messina.

August 24th, 1860. Garibaldi occupied Reggio. The people rose in his favour; revolutionary committees sprang up everywhere; the Neapolitan troops refused to fight Garibaldi.

September 8th, 1860. Francis II, who had in vain offered to establish constitutional government, fled from

Naples to Gaeta. His fleet could not follow him because the Neapolitan sailors, instigated by Persano, had crippled the boilers and dismantled the engines.

September 7th, 1860. Garibaldi entered Naples. He proclaimed himself Dictator and handed over the Neapolitan fleet to Persano.

Garibaldi was now determined to attack Rome and, if successful, Venetia. The hostility he felt towards Cavour, due originally to the omission of Nice to France, had been aggravated by Cavour's attempt to win over Naples before Garibaldi arrived; on September 17th, 1860, he declared that he would no longer co-operate with Cavour.

III. The Sardinians invade the Papal States.

A. Immediate Causes.

(1) Danger from Garibaldi.

Cavour knew that if Garibaldi attacked Rome war with France would follow, and that if he invaded Venetia Austria would again take up arms; war with France or Austria might rob Sardinia of some of her new territory. Although Garibaldi continued to assert his loyalty to Victor Emmanuel he was determined to follow his own policy, and his bitter hostility to Cavour increased the difficulty of the situation.

(2) The policy of the Pope.

Pius IX, hoping to render himself independent of Napoleon's support, had gathered a Papal army of about 20,000 men composed largely of French Legationists, Irish, Belgians and Austrians, commanded by General Lamarmora, a personal enemy of Napoleon III.

Cardinal Madaia wished to make Rome the centre of a great legitimist crusade against France.

The Papal army had cruelly suppressed a recent

rising to the Marche and Umbria; it would be easy to assist Garibaldi and, if successful, would help Francis II to regain Naples and would insure the position Sardinia had secured in Central Italy.

(3) Cavour's skilful diplomacy.

Cavour felt that he must anticipate Garibaldi and save Italy "from foreigners, evil principles, and madness." He determined "to occupy Umbria and the Marche and so place Italy between the revolution and Rome."¹

Cavour sent a strong protest against the cruelty shown by the Papal army in Umbria and the Marche, and demanded that that army should be disbanded.

September 11th, 1860. Without waiting for the Pope's reply, the troops of Victor Emmanuel invaded the Papal States.

Napoleon withdrew his ambassador from Turin but, although jealous of the recent extension of Sardinia, was not ill pleased at the opposition of Cavour to Lamarmora's army which was hostile to himself, especially as Cavour promised that Rome should be "invincible." Napoleon is said to have urged Victor Emmanuel to "act, but act quickly."

B. The Defeat of the Papal Troops.

September 18th, 1860. Lamarmora was routed at Castelfidardo.

September 22nd, 1860. Lamarmora surrendered Ancona.

Victor Emmanuel was master of the Marche and Ancona; the union of Sardinia and the Central States was secured and the monarchy gained the prestige necessary for it to secure control of the revolution in Naples.

¹ Alison Phillips.

C. Garibaldi defeated the Neapolitans.

October 1st, 1860. Garibaldi defeated the Neapolitan army at Volturno but the victory was not decisive: the Garibaldians alone could not expel the Bourbons from Naples.

The final defeat of the Neapolitans was the work of Victor Emmanuel's troops, who gained victories at Capua, the Garigliano and Mola and drove Francis II and his remaining forces into Gaeta.

February 12th, 1861. The capture of Gaeta, "the last bulwark of the Bourbons." Francis II escaped on a French vessel to the Papal States.

IV. Naples, Sicily, and the Italian Kingdom.

A. The Plebiscite.

The attempts of some of Garibaldi's friends to postpone the union between the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily had failed both in Naples and Sicily.

October 4th, 1860. The Italian Parliament, while recognising the great services of Garibaldi, asserted its confidence in Cavour and authorised the annexation of any Southern States, provided it was sanctioned by a plebiscite.

October 21st, 1860. In Naples 1,261,064 voted for union with Sicily and 10,312 against.

October 22nd, 1860. In Sicily 432,033 voted for union and 667 against.

November 4th-6th, 1860. In the Marches and Umbria 220,547 voted for and 2552 against.

B. Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi.

Victor Emmanuel had assumed command of the Italian army and entered Neapolitan territory, where Garibaldi was hard pressed by the Neapolitan troops.

October 26th, 1860. Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi met near Teano and the latter said: "I salute the King of Italy"; their combined forces took Capua on November 1st.

November 7th, 1860. Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi entered Naples in the same carriage.

November 9th, 1860. Garibaldi refused a daisemon and went home to Caprea, taking with him only a bag of seed for his farm.

Garibaldi had declared that he had no confidence in the Italian Parliament in which Cavour was supreme; at a grave crisis in Italian history the personal influence of Victor Emmanuel proved the deciding factor, and Italy was fortunate in possessing "a sovereign and a statesman strong enough even to withstand his hero when his heroism endangered the national cause." Garibaldi, in resigning his Dictatorship, urged all men "to join in commemorating the great work of Italian unity under the re-governance, who is the symbol of our representation and of the prosperity of our country."

February, 1861. An Italian Parliament representing the whole country except Rome and Venetia opened Turin. The number of the subjects of Sardinia was increased from 11,000,000 to 22,000,000.

March 18th, 1861. Parliament passed a bill declaring Victor Emmanuel II King of Italy "by the grace of God and the will of the nation."

March 27th, 1861. The Parliament approved of Cavour's assertion: "Rome must be the capital of Italy. Without Rome for her capital Italy cannot be definitely constituted."

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CAMILLO DI CAVOUR, 1810-1861

I. Life.

August 10th, 1810. Born in Turin; the son of the Marquis di Cavour.

1831. Was compelled to resign his commission in the army owing to his Liberal views.

1832-1843. Showed great ability in the management of his estates; travelled in Switzerland, France and England; wrote articles for French newspapers on "The English Corn Laws"; organized agricultural societies; took an interest in railway development and became a real man of affairs.

1847. Founded and edited *Il Risorgimento*, a Liberal journal which favoured the union of Italy.

June 1848. Elected a member of the Sardinian Parliament.

March 23rd, 1849. Battle of Novara. Resignation of Charles Albert. Accession of Victor Emmanuel II.

October 11th, 1849. Succeeded Sestieri as Minister of Agriculture and Commerce.

1850-1853. Concluded Commercial Treaties with European Powers.

April 1854. Became Minister of Finance in succession to Nigra, whom he forced to leave office.

1855. Formation of the *Conservato* between the Right and Left Centres.

November 4th, 1855. Became head of the Ministry.

January 24th, 1856. Made an alliance with Great Britain and France against Russia.

April 24th, 1856. Resigned office because Victor Emmanuel wished to come to terms with the Clerical Party. Soon resumed office.

August 16th, 1856. La Marmora won the battle of the Tchernaya.

April 7th, 1856. Attacked Austria at the Congress of Paris.

July 26th, 1858. Meeting of Cavour and Napoleon III at Plombières.

January 26th, 1859. Marriage of Princess Clotilde and Prince Jerome Napoleon.

June 4th, 1859. The Austrians were defeated at Magenta.

June 24th, 1859. The Austrians were defeated at Solferino.

July 11th, 1859. Napoleon III and Francis Joseph make the Armistice of Villafranca. Resignation of Cavour.

January 20th, 1860. Cavour returned to office.

March 24th, 1860. The Treaty of Turin gave Nice and Savoy to France.

April 2nd, 1860. Deputies from Lombardy and Central Italy sat in the Parliament at Turin.

May 5th, 1860. Garibaldi and "The Thousand" sailed from Genoa.

September 11th, 1860. The Italian troops invaded the Papal States.

February 18th, 1861. The first Italian Parliament met at Turin.

March 16th, 1861. Victor Emmanuel II proclaimed King of Italy.

April 15th, 1861. Garibaldi, still resenting the cession of Nice and Savoy, because he thought the Garibaldian officers had not received due consideration from the Italian Government, violently attacked Cavour in Parliament and accused him of stirring up civil war.

June 6th, 1861. Cavour died at Turin.

(I. A Great Statesman.

A. The Champion of Liberalism.

(1) General principles.

Partly owing to personal conviction, partly owing to his great obligations for English reinforcements, Cavour

strongly supported liberal principles. He had his followers—

"Advance far along the path of reforms, and hasten that they may be declared inopportune."

On March 15th, 1861, when advocating "A free Church in a free State," he declared—

"We desire economic liberty; we desire administrative liberty; we desire full and absolute liberty of conscience; we desire all the political liberties that are compatible with the maintenance of public order."

(2) The Risorgimento.

"He put at the base of the Italian *Risorgimento* the idea of liberty, widely interpreted and realized under every form."¹ He found in the will of the people of Central Italy, Naples and Sicily, as expressed in petitions, a full justification for their union to Sardinia.

(3) Free Trade.

He favoured Free Trade and, although he was compelled to retain very low tariffs, his commercial policy was based on Free Trade principles.

(4) Cavour opposed Republicanism.

But he strongly opposed Republicanism and revolutionary methods. He therefore resisted Mazzini and saw the need of checking the extreme followers of Garibaldi, whom he called the "demagogues of Naples."

(5) Cavour and Reaction.

He tried to check reaction. He protested, in 1847, against the reactionary policy adopted by Ferdinand II in Naples and against the cruelties practised by the Papal troops in the Marches and Umbria in 1849. He strongly approved of Victor Emmanuel's refusal to cancel the Constitution of 1848 in Piedmont at the bidding of Austria.

¹ *Ibid.*

B. The Architect of Italy.

"Italy as a nation is the legacy, the life work of Cavour." As a Liberal and a nationalist Cavour desired to expel the Austrians from Italy and to unite the country into one kingdom.

(1) Sardinia.

Cavour showed constructive statesmanship in the internal reforms which strengthened and enriched the Kingdom of Sardinia. He promoted internal trade by the establishment of industrial organizations and the development of railways; foreign trade prospered owing to the Commercial Treaties he made. He improved education and increased the military strength of Piedmont by fortifying Alexandria, Genoa and Tarento and establishing a strong naval base at Spezia.

But his policy was Italian and not Sardinian. He wished to strengthen Sardinia so that it might become the foundation of a Kingdom of Italy.

(2) Rome and the Church.

Cavour saw that Rome was the essential capital of the Kingdom of Italy and that the establishment of the Kingdom of Italy involved the extinction of the territorial power of the Pope. But he regarded the Church on its spiritual side as a harmonizing and elevating power. He suppressed useless monasteries but retained those which served a useful purpose; he formed the proceeds of suppression into a Church fund and did not try to make the clergy into paid servants of the State. He wished to establish "a Free Church in a Free State." While he "claimed for Italy the whole of its national inheritance he determined to inflict no needless wound upon the conscience of

(3) Foreign help.

Cavour saw that Sardinia alone was not strong enough to unite Italy and that foreign help was essential. He secured active help from France and found the strong sympathy of Great Britain of great assistance in 1860.

(4) General.

Although Rome and Venetia had not become part of the Kingdom of Italy when Cavour died, the success of his great object was practically assured. Central Italy and the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily had been secured and the rest would follow. His last words were: "Italy is made, all is safe."

III. A Great Diplomatist.

By most skilful diplomacy Cavour overcame the great difficulties caused by the hostility of Austria, the opposition of reactionary princes, and the aims of the "party of action" whose violent methods disturbed the public peace and tended to alienate the sympathy of Europe. He made use of Napoleon III although Napoleon did not favour the establishment of a strong Italian kingdom; the sympathy of Great Britain helped him to secure Naples and Sicily and to invade the Papal States in spite of the protests of France and Austria. He avoided the terms of the Armistice of Villafranca which aimed at preventing the union of Italy.

His treatment of the crisis caused by the expedition of "The Thousand" was a conspicuous diplomatic success. "The invasion of the Papal States in September, 1860, was the crowning act of Cavour's life, and the greatest example of his political genius. He was harassed on all sides, and he laid all his enemies at his feet by this one stroke. It destroyed the league of

reactionary Italian Powers that threatened the newly-formed Kingdom in the North; it liberated the populations of the Centre; it garnered Garibaldi's harvest in the South; it decided the rivalry between him and the Dictator before it could grow into a fatal quarrel; it restored the prestige of the Monarchy as an once leading and controlling the revolution; and it made a United Italy stretching "without a break from the Alps to Palermo!"

IV. General.

A. A Man of Vision and a Man of Action.

Cavour combined statesmanlike vision with the power of rapid action at the necessary moment. He saw the possibility of a Union of Italy which must include Northern, Central and Southern Italy; he saw the need of making Rome the capital; he foresaw the rise of Prussia and the possibility of securing the support of Prussia in completing his great task.

His power of action was illustrated by the internal reforms he effected in Savoy, and by his intervention in the Papal States when prompt action was necessary to secure control of the movement started by Garibaldi, which if uncontrolled would have prejudiced the cause of Italy.

He acted with caution, waited for a suitable opportunity and then showed great vigour and courage, and at times not a little lack of scruple.

The cause of Italian Nationality owed its inspiration largely to Mazzini, the apostle of nationality; it was greatly helped by the "sovereign and magnetic influence" of Victor Emmanuel and by the action of Garibaldi in rousing the people; without the practical ability of Cavour it could never have succeeded.

B. Intellectual Power.

Cavour regarded politics not, like Mazzini, as a religion but as a science. His outlook was mainly intellectual although he was inspired by ardent patriotism. He was a lucid, precise reasoner; he exercised a national Dictatorship by the power of persuasion.

References:

Cavour, "Heroes of the Nations," Putnam's.
A History of Italian Unity (Boston King), Vol. I, chap. xiv.

THE COMPLETION OF ITALIAN UNITY 1861-1870

I. Italy at the Death of Cavour.

The death of Cavour was a great blow to Italy, for his successors lacked the ability to deal successfully with the serious difficulties that the new Kingdom had to face. The finances were disorganised and the expenditure was double the revenue; large sums were required to maintain an army and fleet strong enough to assert the national cause, to improve communications and provide for education. The internal administration had to be adapted to the needs of the recent additions, which differed from Piedmont in race and in the standard of their civilisation. Many of the Southern Italians favoured Garibaldi or Mazzini.

Brigandage had become a serious problem in Naples; it was originally due to superstition, class-hatred and the miserable conditions of the peasantry. It was facilitated by the lack of roads and habitations in the country districts. It now tended to become a political movement aiming at the restoration of the Bourbons, and on this account was unofficially recognised by the Papal Court and condoned at by the French garrison in Rome.

The success of the new Kingdom of Italy could not be assured unless brigandage was suppressed.

The banished Princes were anxious to regain their lost States; the Italians were determined to take Rome from the Pope and Venice from Austria, which still held the Quadrilateral.

Most of the Powers looked with suspicion on the new Kingdom: Great Britain was wholly sympathetic; Austria protested against the assumption of the title "King of Italy" by Victor Emmanuel; Russia strongly resented the expulsion from Naples of her old ally, the Bourbons. But Napoleon III recognized the Kingdom of Italy, although he declared that France would continue to hold Rome and, in 1860, he influenced Russia and Prussia to take the same step.

II. The Roman Question to 1864.

A. The Pope.

Pius IX held that the maintenance of the Temporal Power was essential for the due exercise of the Spiritual, and that he was bound by the oath taken at his accession to hand over the Papal States undiminished to his successor. He declared that "the examples of the Temporal Power have for their object the entire overthrow of our holy religion," and absolutely refused to recognize the Kingdom of Italy, which he denounced as "a creation of revolution." He excommunicated Victor Emmanuel, his government and the Papal subjects who had voted for union with Sardinia.

B. Mazzini and Garibaldi.

Mazzini and Garibaldi demanded open war to recover Venice and save Rome from the "tyranny of priests"; Mazzini declared: "we shall never get Rome until we have got Venice—until we have broken the power of Austria."

C. Napoleon.

Napoleon was unwilling that the Kingdom of Italy should be further increased; in deference to the Clerical Party in France he retained the French garrisons in Rome to preserve the Temporal Power of the Pope.

D. The Italian Government.

The Italian Government accepted the views of Cavour, who declared, in March, 1861, that "without Rome for her capital Italy cannot be constituted," and laid down the principle of a Free Church in a Free State. But the Government, and particularly the King, who was a strong Catholic, was most anxious to avoid a breach with the Pope if possible; it was unwilling to support Garibaldi's schemes for fear of European interference and knew that an attack on Rome would involve war with France.

III. Garibaldi.

A. Mazzini.

Mazzini, Cavour's assassin, was determined to move Rome. Finding that nothing could be gained from Pius IX by negotiation he tried to stir up a vast national agitation and he seemed to favour Garibaldi's plans. Victor Emmanuel, influenced by Mazzini, hoped by stirring up an insurrection in Hungary to force Austria to abandon Venice.

February, 1862. Largely owing to French influence, Mazzini was compelled to resign and was succeeded by Rattazzi.

B. Rattazzi.

March, 1862. Garibaldi formed at Genoa a "Society for the Emancipation of Italy"; Rattazzi secretly provided him arms, and money but dared to compromise Victor Emmanuel by giving Garibaldi official support. Garibaldi's proposed attack on the Tyrol was stopped and his followers arrested by the Government.

June 29th, 1862. Garibaldi appeared suddenly at Palermo; raised the cry of "Rome or death." Under pressure from Napoleon III, who declared that he would regard the entrance of Garibaldi into the Papal States as a declaration of war by the Kingdom of Italy, Rattazzi disavowed Garibaldi's action and ordered the Italian troops to stop his advance.

August 29th, 1862. Garibaldi was checked by the Italians under Cialdini at Aspromonte, where he was wounded in the side "by an Italian bullet." Garibaldi was imprisoned but soon released under an amnesty.

IV. Napoleon III.

A. Napoleon, Pius IX and Rattazzi.

Napoleon, in May, 1862, had urged Pius IX to agree to the restriction of Papal territory to the Patrimony of St. Peter which should be guaranteed by the Powers, to open negotiations with Turin and reform the Papal Constitution. The absolute refusal of the Pope annoyed Napoleon, although he protested against Garibaldi's expedition and refused to agree to a new Note which Rattazzi issued to the Powers again demanding that Rome should be the capital of Italy. Rattazzi therefore resigned in December, 1862.

B. The September Convention, 1864.

But Napoleon feared that the Schleswig-Holstein question might lead either to agreement between Austria and Prussia or to a quarrel between them which might result in a European war. He was annoyed because Great Britain had refused his suggestion for a European Congress in November, 1864. He felt that in the circumstances a good understanding with Italy

was essential. But the Clerical Party compelled him to protect the interests of the Pope. Minghetti, the new Sardinian minister, was anxious to secure the withdrawal of the French troops from Rome.

(1) The Convention.

September 15th, 1861. Napoleon agreed to withdraw the French troops from Rome within two years, and earlier if the Pope's army was strong enough to protect his territory. Victor Emmanuel agreed to take over part of the Papal debt, to allow the Pope to form a volunteer army, to respect and to make others respect the territory the Pope still held, and to change the capital of Sardinia from Turin to Florence.

(2) Criticism.

Italy thus regained the Temporal Power. Piedmont strongly resented the transference of the capital to Florence: riots broke out and Minghetti resigned in September, 1864. The Italians thought that by moving the capital to Florence they had got one step nearer Rome; the French regarded the transference as a renunciation of the demand for Rome.

V. Internal Reforms.

A. Financial.

Considerable improvements were effected by Quintino Sella, Rattazzi's Minister of Finance, and Minghetti. The land tax was increased; taxes were levied on personal property and on food. New Commercial Treaties were made with France, Holland, Great Britain, Russia and Denmark. Companies were started for the development of railways, tobacco, opium and banks.

B. Brigandage.

Minghetti introduced the Five Law which provided for the construction of roads, the provision of schools, and the increase of penalties against brigandage. In December, 1864, it was stated that 848 brigands had been killed in action and 443 captured; 142 had surrendered. It was estimated that 300 remained. But brigandage continued owing to the continuance of the Pope and the Bourbons.

C. Administration.

A policy of centralisation was adopted as a means of strengthening national unity. The kingdom was divided into provinces each under a prefect representing the central government.

VI. The Acquisition of Venetia.

A. Treaty with Prussia, April, 1866.

Bismarck wished to make an alliance with Italy in order to secure help against the common enemy Austria in the impending war,¹ and as a safeguard against Napoleon's designs on the Rhine.

April 8th, 1866. Italy made a defensive and offensive alliance with Prussia.²

B. Napoleon's Diplomacy.³

C. The Third War of Independence, 1866.

June 20th, 1866. Italy declared war on Austria.

La Marmora and Cialdini both demanded the supreme command. The Italians made the grave mistake of dividing their army into two parts, and the two generals failed to agree on any common plan.

June 24th, 1866. The Archduke Albrecht routed La Marmora at Custoza.

¹ Page 378.² Page 382.³ Page 294.

July 3rd, 1866. The Austrians were routed by the Prussians at Königgrätz. The Austrians now offered to cede Venetia to Napoleon, who was to hand it over to Italy if the Italians would make an armistice.

July 8th, 1866. The Italians renewed the war and gained all Venetia except the Quadrilateral. Garibaldi secured the Trentino.

July 26th, 1866. The Italian fleet under Bruni was defeated at Lissa.

Prussia made the armistice of Nicolsburg¹ without consulting Italy, who, rather than fight Austria alone, made an armistice at Cormoy on August 12th, 1866. Garibaldi was ordered to retire from Trent and telegraphed, "I obey."

October 3rd, 1866. By the Treaty of Vienna Italy received from Napoleon, to whom it had been ceded by Austria, Venetia (not the Trentino, which was therefore called "Italia incidenta"²). The union was confirmed by a plebiscite in which 647,248 voted for and 48 against annexation to Italy.

November 7th, 1866. Victor Emmanuel entered Venice.

[1866. By the Treaty of Versailles, which concluded the Great War, Italy received the Trentino, Trieste and Pola.]

Rome the Capital of Italy.

A. RUS IX.

Rus IX remained steadfast in his opposition to the Kingdom of Italy. On December 3rd, 1866, he published the *Syllabus*,³ which was a negation of liberalism. Although the Italian Government renounced its authority over bishops in Church matters and recognised the right of the Pope to nominate bishops, Rus absolutely refused to acknowledge the Kingdom and the question of the appointment of bishops remained unsettled. Rattazzi, in 1867, confiscated Church property of the value of about £20,000,000.

¹ Page 398.

² *Carabinieri*.

³ Page 467.

The French garrison was withdrawn from Rome at the end of 1866, but a French volunteer force, the *Antibes Legion*, had gone to Rome to protect the Pope, and much indignation was aroused by this breach of the Convention of September, 1864.

B. Garibaldi.

Garibaldi, secretly encouraged by Rattazzi, again determined to secure Rome by force. He encouraged insurrectionary plots in Rome, but the best known, that of the brothers Cacioli, failed in October, 1867. Napoleon warned the Italian Government that he would send French troops to protect the Pope if necessary. In spite of a proclamation by Victor Emmanuel forbidding "fratricidal war," Garibaldi entered the Papal States. Napoleon sent 20,000 French troops under Fially to Rome.

November 3rd, 1867. Fially defeated Garibaldi at Mentana. The French withdrew from Rome to Civita Vecchia.

C. Napoleon III.

(1) Italian hatred of France.

An alliance between France and Italy had seemed possible in 1856; mutual suspicions weakened the alliance between Italy and France; the withdrawal of the French garrison from Rome precluded good feeling between Victor Emmanuel II and Napoleon III. But the Italians were enraged by the French occupation of Civita Vecchia, by the defeat of Garibaldi and Fially's statement that "the *cloupe-pots* have done wonders," by Rattazzi's declaration in the French Chamber that "The French Government cannot permit Italy to seize Rome. Never, never will France tolerate such an act of violence against her honour and that of Catholic Christendom."

Mentana "gave a mortal blow to the French alliance, up to this time the chief anchor of Italian foreign policy."

⁽²⁾ *Napoleon seeks a Triple Alliance.*

In view of the growing danger from Prussia Napoleon negotiated with Victor Emmanuel and Francis Joseph for a Triple Alliance. But the proposal failed largely because he refused to allow Victor Emmanuel to take Rome, but partly because Italy was determined to abstain from European war in order to concentrate on the acquisition of Rome. The Franco-German War gave her the opportunity she desired.

July 18th, 1870. Italy declared herself neutral as between France and Prussia.

August 19th, 1870. The French troops were withdrawn from Civita Vecchia for service against Prussia.

D. The Capture of Rome.

"The donation to the French arms, the defeat of Sedan, and the fall of the Empire solved the whole problem and for ever." The Italians sent an army of 60,000 men under Raffaele Cadorna against Rome; the Poles were offended by the declaration of the infallibility of the Pope on July 18th, 1870, which seemed to challenge the rights of lay sovereignty, and neither Great Britain, France nor Prussia objected to the action of Italy.

September 20th, 1870. Cadorna, after a slight resistance, entered Rome.

October 2nd, 1870. By 133,281 votes to 1507 the Romans voted for incorporation with the Kingdom of Italy and the Temporal Power of the Pope came to an end.

Rome became the capital of Italy in July, 1871. The Quirinal became the Royal Palace, the Montecitorio Palace the meeting place of the Chamber of Deputies.

References :

- Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. XI, chap. xix.
- Casson, "Harmon of the Nations," Putnam's, chap. ix.
- A History of Italian Unity* (Belton Klag), Vol. II, Part v.
- Lectures on the History of the Nineteenth Century*, X, "The Struggle for Italian Unity," Cambridge University Press.

POPE PIUS IX.

June 17th, 1846. Giovanni Mastai Ferretti, Bishop of Imola, was proclaimed Pope Pius IX.

I. How far a Liberal Pope.

At the accession of Pius IX the government of the Papal States was appalling. There were no manufactures, the finances were in a hopeless condition, the clergy alone were eligible for the higher posts in the administration, the police were used largely for political purposes; brigandage and smuggling were general. The attempt of Gregory XVI (1831-1846) to put down abuses by repressive measures had failed. Pius IX gained great popularity by his Liberal policy¹ and blessed Italy from the balcony of the Quirinal.

But his Liberalism was rather a matter of sentiment than principle: he failed to put his theories into action; he was won over by the supporters of reaction, and after his flight to Gaeta on November 24th, 1848,² he definitely supported the reactionary cause.

II. Reaction in Politics.

Guided by Cardinal Antonelli and relying upon the protection of Austria, Pius IX henceforward opposed reform. He was steadily supported by the Clerical Party in France, which was strongly Ultramontane, and continually urged Napoleon III to protect the Pope from the growing power of Sardinia. The French clergy, who had been made more dependent on Rome

¹ Page 404.

² Page 412.

by the Concordat of 1802,¹ looked to the Pope as their protector. From his return to Rome on April 12th, 1854, he relied upon the French garrison to maintain his position in Rome.

A. Rome.

After the Pope's return from Gaeta Rome suffered from reaction, and the attempts of Napoleon to induce Pius to grant reform proved completely unsuccessful. The Constitution was cancelled, high offices were held only by clergy, and the Pope's opponents were ruthlessly suppressed; the Inquisition was restored; in 1863 there were 8600 political prisoners in Rome.

B. The Italian Princes.

The Pope compelled Leopold of Tuscany to withdraw the Constitution he had granted in 1848 and to prohibit the reading of the Bible.

The Pope received Francis II on his flight from Naples; Rome became a centre of Bourbon intrigues against Victor Emmanuel and encouragement was given to brigands who took up the Bourbon cause.

C. Austria.

Pius IX denounced as "abominable" and "unpardonable" the *Mayday* of 1847 because it granted religious toleration.

III. The Maintenance of Ecclesiastical Rights.

"The socialist movement of 1848 had alarmed the middle classes and decided them to appeal to the Conservative power of the Clergy."² Pius IX took full advantage of the opportunity.

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. III, page 465.

² Page 378.

³ *Belgation*, page 895.

IV. The Temporal Power.

A. General.

PIUS IX. held that the Church could not properly exercise her spiritual functions if she was subjected to any lay power. "The divine wisdom has willed that in such a crowd of temporal princes the Sovereign Pontiff shall enjoy that political authority which is necessary to the exercise of his spiritual power, authority and jurisdiction." Pius considered that he was bound by oath to keep the Temporal Power unimpaired and hoped that it would prove a check on the spread of revolutionary doctrine. But the formation of a Kingdom of Italy involved the question of the Temporal Power and Pius IX. therefore readily opposed the extension of Sardinia. In this policy he received support from Napoleon III, who was anxious to conciliate the Clerical Party in France, which was strongly Ultramontane, and to the interests of France objected to the formation of a united Kingdom of Italy. "Two strong neighbours, Germany and England, were enough" for France.

B. The Papacy and the Kingdom of Italy.

1859. Pius IX. refused to join in the Second War of Italian Independence against Austria. He refused the suggestion made in *The Pope and the Congress*¹ that the Patrimony of St. Peter was sufficient to maintain the independence of the Papacy.

1860. After the union of the Central States to Sardinia he declared that Victor Emmanuel was guilty of "sacriligious usurpation" and that the opponents of the Temporal Power were bent on destroying Roman Catholicism. Pius now did all he could to preserve the Patrimony of St. Peter and Rome—all that was left of

¹ Page 437.

the Papal States. His moderate attitude aroused opposition even among the Catholic clergy and led, in 1862, to the "Petition of Nine Thousand Priests" which urged Pius to come to terms with the Kingdom of Italy.

French reverses in the Franco-German War deprived the Pope of the valuable aid he had received from France since 1848 and the battle of Sedan was soon followed by the downfall of the Temporal Power.

C. The Law of the Guarantees.

In accordance with the theories of Cavour the Italian Government passed on

May 13th, 1871. The Law of the Guarantees which recognised the Pope as a reigning sovereign; gave him the Vatican and Lateran Palaces and a grant of £125,000 per annum. The Government recognised the royal assent to important acts of ecclesiastical authority, such as the issue of Bulls and the appointment of bishops.

But Pius IX, partly owing to the pressure of the French Clerical Party, refused to accept these terms or to recognise the Italian Government. He withdrew to the Vatican and declared himself "morally a prisoner."

V. Dogmatic Pronouncements.

Pius IX tried to effect a general restoration of Catholic Society and received valuable help from the Opus Dei Catholicæ, founded in 1850, and from the Jesuit Order.

A. The Immaculate Conception of the Virgin.

December 8th, 1854. The Pope, on his sole and personal authority and without calling a Council, promulgated the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, which taught that the Virgin was born "free from all stain not only of actual but of original sin."

B. The Encyclical "Quanta Cura" and the Syllabus, 1864.

(1) The Encyclical.

December 8th, 1864. In the Encyclical the Pope condemned the "principal errors of our most unhappy epoch" which threatened the Catholic Church. Of these errors "naturalism" taught that a government might be founded on natural motives without reference to religion; that every man therefore had a right to liberty of conscience and creed, and that the will of the people is the supreme law. Another error is the assertion "that the supreme authority entrusted by Christ to the Church and the Holy See is subject to civil authority."

The Encyclical asserted the independence of the Church and the compulsory acceptance of the Catholic Faith, as against the religious liberty and the supreme authority of the civil governments which were involved in the idea of a lay state.

(2) The Syllabus.

The Syllabus was a catalogue of eighty principal errors. These included naturalism, rationalism, socialism, Bible societies, lay education, civil marriage and divorce, opposition to the temporal power of the Pope, the right of the State to interfere in ecclesiastical matters, religious toleration, the denial of the right of the Church to inflict civil and criminal punishment.

(3) Criticism.

These two documents were "a declaration of war against modern society, ideas, liberties and institutions"; they were an assertion of unyielding Hinduism as against European civilisation; they were essentially mediæval in outlook.

They utterly opposed Cavour's ideal of a Free Church in a Free State; they challenged the supremacy of lay authority and asserted the absolutism of the Church; in particular they repudiated the political ideas on which the Kingdom of Italy was established.

They were welcomed by Ultramontanists; they seriously embarrassed Liberal Catholics, and were strongly resented by the governments of Europe.

C. Papal Infallibility.

The growth of Gallicanism and the work of scientific historians in Germany, of whom Döllinger was the most famous, seemed likely to weaken the Church by their opposition to Ultramontanism. To meet the danger a Council was called at Rome for December 6th, 1869, to define the *Syllabus*, reassert the Temporal Power and proclaim the Infallibility of the Pope as a sufficient answer to scientific criticism.

(1) Opposing Catholic views.

Döllinger and his friends asserted that the doctrine of Papal Infallibility was unknown to antiquity, is contradictory with history, and based on forgeries such as the forged Decretals of Isidore.

The Ultramontanists said that the ideas "of Supremacy and Infallibility were contained in the of Primacy"; that the forgeries, which they admitted, "had but stereotyped existing usage," and that the Popes had taken a leading part in reforming the faults of the Church.

(2) The Vatican Council.

a. The members.

December 8th, 1869. The Council met. It consisted of 180 clerical members; lay sovereigns were not invited to send representatives;

Bavaria wished to intervene but Prussia, Austria and France refused. The Pope was sure of the support of a majority, which included 224 Italians. The minority, originally numbering from 100 to 200 votes, were weakened by lack of union.

b. Procedure.

The Pope made all regulations for procedure, chose committees, authorised the agenda and possessed the sole right of initiative. "The freedom of the Bishops was practically confined to their vote"; the publication of proceedings was censured.

c. The doctrine affirmed.

The opposition was twofold: the *Anti-infallibilists* declared that Papal Infallibility was contrary to the doctrine of the Church; the *Insupportivists* accepted the theory but thought that, as it would arouse the opposition of lay governments, already irritated by the *Syllabus*, the time was inappropriate for its publication.

July 18th, 1870. Five hundred and thirty-five Bishops declared that it was "a dogma divinely revealed that the Roman Pontiff when he speaks *ex cathedra*, that is . . . when he defines by virtue of his supreme apostolic authority doctrine concerning faith or morals to be held by the Universal Church, is . . . possessed of that Infallibility wherewith the Divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be endowed in defining doctrine concerning faith or morals; and that therefore such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are unalterable of themselves and not by reason of the consent of the Church."

Results.

All the dissenting bishops submitted before long. German theologians defied their bishops and formed, in 1871, the Old Catholic Society which was confined to Germany and Switzerland, in which it secured few adherents. Austria forbade the publication of the decree, but most governments, although disapproving, refused officially to interfere in a matter of faith.

The Vatican Council succeeded in strengthening and centralising the Church, but "so far, no further definitions have been made and no indisputably infallible pronouncements put forth by the Holy See. It has taught, rather, as if it were infallible, than infallibly."¹

References :

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XI, chap. xxxv.

A Political History of Contemporary Europe (Seignobos), Heinemann, pp. 684-707.

A History of Modern Unity (Mottin King), Vol. II, chap. xxxviii.

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*.

SECTION VI

EASTERN EUROPE
AFTER THE CRIMEAN WAR

RUSSIA, 1855-1870

Discontent in Russia was aggravated by the failure of the Crimean War, which had exhausted the resources of the country, shown "the bankruptcy of Autocracy," and led the north to demand an immediate improvement in their condition as a reward of their military services.

Alexander II (1855-1881) realized that unconditional opposition to Western ideas was no longer possible and that reform was inevitable. He adopted a Liberal policy and hoped to introduce reform from above and not from below. But his limited education and experience and his lack of initiative made him dependent on the advice of others and, as he was led at one time by the party of reform and at another by the party of reaction, his policy lacked consistency. A period of reform was followed, after 1866, by a period of reaction.

The intelligentsia, or intellectual class, demanded reform but were divided into two parties. The Westerners, following the example of Western Europe, advocated representative assemblies, a constitution and guarantees of liberty; they formed the majority of the intelligentsia and were very strong in St. Petersburg. The Slavophiles wished to restore the patriarchal autocracy of the seventeenth century and opposed Western ideas. But both parties demanded the emancipation of the serfs, freedom of the press and education, and the limitation of the power of officials.

The cause of reform was strongly supported by such writers as Gogol (1807-1852), Turgenev (1828-1882), and Dostoevski (1821-1881).

I. Internal Reform.

A. The Emancipation of the Serfs.

Alexander II appointed Committees to consider the problem; Milutin worked strenuously for emancipation

and the Grand Duke Constantine was president of the Principal Committee which sat during 1859 and 1860. The Emperor pressed the Committee to formulate a scheme as soon as possible.

February 19th, 1862. An Imperial decree abolished serfdom and turned 25,000,000 serfs into free proprietors.

(1) *Terra.*

a. *The ownership of the land.*

If the serfs were emancipated and the nobles kept the land, the farmers would become labourers or tenants-at-will and an agricultural proletariat would be created; this had actually happened in Warsaw (1807) and the Baltic Provinces (1816-1820). The landowners were allowed to retain some of their lands but individual peasants received the right of purchasing their house and garden. The rest of the land was assigned, generally, to the Village Community or *Mir*, but in Little Russia, Poland and the West, where individual ownership was general, to individuals; the Congressional Assembly assigned the land to its members as private property for a definite period. The State advanced to the peasants four-fifths of the price of the land they received and they were required to repay the loan within forty-nine years; Arbiters of the Peace were elected, in 1862, to settle disputes as to the settlement. Private serfs received on an average about eight and a half acres each; State serfs, seven and a half; Crown serfs, twelve.

b. *The rights of the Nobles.*

The police jurisdiction, formerly exercised by the nobles over the serfs, was transferred to the *Mir*.

(2) Results of Emancipation.

a. General.

The serfs thus became a body of independent landed proprietors; emancipation transformed Russia by making it a modern State in which all the citizens received equal liberty and a measure of local self-government; it thus paved the way for constitutional reform.

b. The position of the Nobles and Peasants.

The nobles probably received inadequate pecuniary compensation, and one of them declared "before the emancipation we drank champagne and kept no accounts; since the emancipation we keep accounts and drink beer." The peasants found the new terms a heavy burden and did not secure all the advantages they expected from emancipation. Lazy and dissolute peasants lost the land they received and sank to a misery unknown before. But industrious peasants prospered and emancipation led to an increase in the area of cultivation, the value of land, the proceeds of taxation and export trade.

c. Effects on industry.

Many industrial laborers returned to the land, and the iron trade, mining and cloth manufacture suffered considerably owing to the loss of labour. Wages rose, and increased cost of production led to higher prices.

But the development of railways, about six hundred miles of which were constructed between 1858 and 1878, the introduction of machinery, the reduction of tariffs in 1859 and 1861 and the foundation of the Bank of Russia in 1860 gradually counteracted the immediate bad effects produced on industry by the Emancipation of the Serfs.

B. The Development of Local Government.

(1) Country Districts.

1864. The Provincial Assemblies of the nobles, the *Mirs* or Village Committees and the *Volosts* or Cantonal Assemblies were united in the elected *Zemstvo*. District *Zemstvos* were elected directly by nobles and townsmen and indirectly by peasants. The District *Zemstvos* elected those of the Province.

The *Zemstvos* were responsible for the repair of roads and bridges, primary education, public health and the election of *Jurisons of the Peace*. Owing to the jealousy of the bureaucracy Provincial Governments reserved the power of vetoing decisions of the *Zemstvos* and financial difficulties hampered progress. But on the whole the new assemblies did good work and proved of great benefit to their localities.

(2) Towns.

1870. A measure of self-government, based on the representation of property, was given to St. Petersburg, Moscow and Odessa.

C. Judicial Reforms.

November, 1864. Courts of *Jurisons of the Peace* were established to try petty cases; courts, whose members were nominated by the Crown, were set up to try more serious cases. Each had its own Court of Appeal from which appeal lay to the Senate which exercised final jurisdiction.

The judicial authority was separated from the administration; magistrates and courts were independent; all Russians were regarded as equal before the law; proceedings were public and trial by jury was established. The principles of Western legal systems were adopted and the people took an active share in the administration of justice.

The value of these judicial reforms was impaired by the continuance or establishment of special courts for peasants, business men and excommunication, and by court-martial. Political offenders were not tried by juries. Inadequate salaries partly accounted for the poor quality of the judges, some of whom had had no legal education; barristers were often incompetent. The authority of the Third Section¹ continued unimpaired. But in spite of serious faults the new system proved a blessing to Russia.

D. Military Reforms.

The period of service was reduced from twenty-five to fifteen years and military colonies² were abolished. The education of officers was improved; fourteen military districts were formed.

1874. All men were declared liable to military service of six years in the Regular Army and nine in the Militia, and, for their remaining years up to the age of forty, in the Reserve.

E. Education.

Restrictions on education were removed and opportunities for education extended.

(1) Universities.

1863. The Council of Universities received a considerable measure of self-government in matters of discipline and finance, and the control hitherto exercised by the police was relaxed. The number of chairs was increased and the salaries of professors augmented.

1865. Foundation of the University of Odessa.

¹ Page 158.

² Page 160.

(c) Schools.

1864. A new code effected considerable improvements in elementary education.

1864. Secondary schools were divided into *Real schools*, or modern schools which did not teach Latin or Greek, and *Gymnasies*, or classical schools.

F. The Press.

A number of new newspapers appeared even after the accession of Alexander II, but they were strictly censored and practically none commented on the emancipation of the serfs. The only satirical Russian paper, the *Kokosh*,¹ was published in London and smuggled into Russia.

1865. A new Press Law relaxed the censorship which had been exercised by the Ministers of the Interior and Public Instruction. The preventive censorship of books was abolished.

But the press received no fundamental guarantee. Newspapers which offended were to be punished by the Minister of the Interior and not by the law courts; offences were not legally defined and the accused had no right to be heard.

II. The Polish Insurrection, 1863.

The establishment of Italian independence and the belief that Alexander II was favourable to reform led to a revival of the demand for national independence in Poland. The movement was the work mainly of the *White-nobles*, supported by the clergy and townspeople—and the *Reds*, a democratic party consisting largely of students and officers acting under a secret committee which met at Warsaw; the peasants, who were merely the chattels of the nobles, took no part in it.

¹ *The Bell*.

The Poles demanded that Poland should have the boundaries of 1772¹ and thus arouse the resentment of Austria and Prussia. In Lithuania and Podolia most of the population, who belonged to the Greek Church and were largely Russians in race and language, disapproved of the attempt of their nobles to sever the connection with Russia.

A. Alexander II's Policy.

The Agricultural Society, founded in 1855 to improve the condition of the peasants, became the centre of the movement, which found expression in public meetings in 1860 and 1861.

(1) Alexander's concessions.

Alexander II refused to grant independence to Poland and urged the Poles to "evidence the union with Russia, and abandon all thoughts of independence, now and for ever impossible." He tried to conciliate the Poles by concessions.

March, 1861. A separate Ministry of Instruction and Public Worship was established for Poland under a Polish minister, Marquis Ujejski, who thought it desirable in the interests of Poland to support Alexander's conciliatory policy. Local Elective Boards were set up in Provinces and Districts with power of reporting to a Council of State sitting at Warsaw.

(2) Continued dissatisfaction.

The dissatisfaction in Poland was increased by the action of Cossack soldiers, who fired on peaceful demonstrations, and by the suppression of the Agricultural Society in April, 1862.

¹ *Tales on European History*, Vol. III, page 108.

(3) Further concessions.

1832. The appointment of the Liberal Grand Duke Constantine as Viceroy and of Wisniolowski as Director of Civil Government, the reopening of the University of Warsaw, which had been closed in 1822,¹ the adoption of Polish as the official language and the replacement of Russian Provincial Governors by Poles showed that Alexander was sincerely anxious to conciliate Poland.

B. The Insurrection.

But discontent grew in spite of concessions which did not meet the demand for complete national independence; the *Szko* regarded Wisniolowski as a traitor; attempts were made to assassinate Constantine and Wisniolowski; the secret committee extended its operations to Lithuania and Volhynia.

January, 1833. An attempt to raise the nationalists in Warsaw for military service failed; they escaped to the woods and started a guerrilla warfare under the direction of the secret committee which, in spite of the Government, printed and published its decrees and secured the execution of some of its leading opponents.

The insurrection of 1833 was a secret revolt and an act of national despair; the peasants, who were exempted from the recent military levy, took no part; the attempt to separate Lithuania and Volhynia from Russia raised strong feeling in those provinces and in Russia, and gained for the Czar the strong support of the Russians; the efforts of Great Britain, France and Austria to secure for Poland national representation and administration and religious liberty were rejected by Gortchakoff three times in 1833. Bismarck made an agreement with the Czar and closed the Prussian frontier to Polish fugitives.²

The Warsaw Committee called itself the "national

¹ Page 151.

² Page 376.

government" in Poland, the Wilna Committee did the same in Lithuania. But the insurrection was doomed from the start.

C. Suppression of the Insurrection.

(1) Lithuania.

1863. Mommeloff armed the peasants against the nobles and suppressed the revolt in Lithuania. He made Russian the only official language, suppressed national institutions, and by exactions, imprisonment, fines and confiscations broke the power of the nobles. His action was warmly approved by the large Russian element but the Poles called him "the butcher of Wilna."

(2) Poland.

March 19th, 1863. General Langiewicz utterly routed the Poles at Grochowka.

February, 1864. The Polish rising was crushed and a determined effort was made to make Poland Russian and Orthodox. Poland was united to Russia in 1867 and divided into governorates and districts like the rest of the Empire under a Governor-General of the "Ten Governments as the Vienna"; the Central Government was transferred to St. Petersburg; the use of the Polish language was forbidden in the administration, schools and, later, in law courts and churches; many monasteries were suppressed, the Catholic clergy became subject to strict State supervision and the Concordat with Rome was annulled in 1868.

March, 1864. The peasants were made absolute and independent owners of their houses and cattle and half the land they had formerly held under the nobles; they were set free from all seigniorial dues and services but retained their rights of common in the woods and pastures of the nobles; the compensation

tion paid to the nobles was raised by a general land tax, to which the nobles themselves had to contribute. Village communities were established which were administered by elected assemblies of peasants from which priests and nobles were excluded. The fear of losing their newly acquired rights made the peasants the strong supporters of the Government against the nobles. The remarkable development of Polish industry, and the increase of trade with Russia which followed, united Poland and Russia by common interests.

III. Reaction in Russia.

Gradually Alexander adopted a reactionary policy in Russia.

A. Failure of Reform.

The strong opposition of officials and the death of competent administrators greatly hindered reform. The interference of the secret police and the special tribunals hampered the development of the new judicial system; the *Zemstvo* came under the influence of officials and their powers of self-government were curtailed; many newspapers were suppressed and only the official newspapers and the *Moscow Gazette*, the organ of the autocratic party, received any measure of real freedom; Count Tolstol¹ abolished the teaching of natural science in secondary schools because he regarded it as revolutionary, he suppressed students' clubs in the universities and appointed special inspectors of students.

B. Poland.

The rising in Poland greatly strengthened reaction in Russia.

Not Count Leo Tolstol the novelist.

C. The Character of Alexander II.

Alexander, "cautious to the point of vacillation and always inclined to look back as well as forward," failed to carry out the reforms he had inaugurated; he dismissed Milutin as soon as the Edict of Emancipation was passed, and to subordinate opponents handed over the execution of reforms to bureaucrats who objected to reform.

D. Growing Discontent.

(1) Nihilism.

The failure of reform caused general despair; disappointed reformers regarded the Government as too feeble; the universities became the center of plots; the attempt of Karamozin to murder Alexander II in 1866 was significant as the first attempt by a *Bourgeois*.

Revolutionary ideas spread in spite of the patriotic enthusiasm aroused by the Polish Revolt and the development of Pan-Slavism. Nihilism, as named by Turgenev in his *Fathers and Children*, 1862, which rejected all ideas, including Divine revelation, which could not be proved by physical evidence, spread among the *Intelligentsia*; it owed much to Bakounin who returned from Siberia in 1864; Nihilism became militant and advocated the destruction of all government, and a recreation of society. A Nihilist Congress was held at Basel in 1869 and the action of the Paris Commune in 1871 greatly stimulated the movement.

(2) Socialism.

Militant socialism spread; young members of the *Intelligentsia* worked among the peasants; the people were taught that violence was necessary to prepare the way for revolution which would establish the sovereignty of the people.

The Government adopted strong measures of repression; from 1863 to 1874 146,369 people were exiled to Siberia. But repression failed to arrest revolutionary ideas and in the end of Alexander's reign the government became Turgenev's

IV. The Expansion of Russia.

Alexander II took little part in the affairs of Europe. The alliance he made with Bismarck in February, 1880,¹ averted all chance of intervention by Great Britain and France in Poland, and enabled Alexander to secure the abolition of the clauses of the Treaty of Paris² which limited the action of Russia in the Black Sea. He declared against British and French interference in Naples in 1886; thought that the German Confederation should be altered only by a European Congress; objected to the blow dealt to "legitimacy" by the Peace of Prague, 1866; but did not take up arms to support his opinions.

But he continued the expansion of Russia in the East and South-East.

A. Central Asia.

(1) Turkestan.

1868. Turkestan was conquered.

(2) The Khanates.

June, 1868. Submission of the Khan of Bokhara after the Russians had defeated him at Irgat in 1866 and captured Samarkand in 1868.

1873. Submission of the Khan of Khiva, who ceded territory on the Oxus.

1876. Conquest of the Khanate of Khokand.

B. The Caucasus.

1859. Conquest of the Eastern Caucasus.

1864. Conquest of the Western Caucasus.

¹ Page 374.

² Page 381.

C. Turkey and the Balkans.

Alexander II wished to protect the Slav Christians and to secure control of the Black Sea.

1861. Alexander supported the union of Moldavia and Wallachia into Rumania.

1868. He joined Great Britain in recognising George, King of the Hellenes.

1867. He persuaded Turkey to evacuate Belgrade and to recognise Milan as Prince of Serbia in 1868.

March 18th, 1871. Abrogation of the clauses of the Treaty of Paris to which the Rumanians objected.

D. General.

Alexander took no part in the great European Wars of his reign, but his foreign relations and policy of extension had important results.

(1) The Triple Alliance.

1873. The *Deutscherbund*, the alliance of the Russian, Austrian and German Emperors, profoundly affected European politics.

(2) Great Britain.

Alexander II usually worked harmoniously with Great Britain, but the extension of Russian influence in Central Asia was regarded in England as a danger to India. Although an agreement was made in 1872 which fixed the Afghan frontier and excluded Russia from Persia, the fear of farther Russian aggression long disturbed British relations.

References :

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XI, Chap. XXX.

A Political History of Contemporary Europe (Belgiobon), Chap. XII.

The Story of the Nations : Poland, Chap. XII.

TURKEY, 1856-1870

By the Treaty of Paris, 1856,¹ the Powers had guaranteed the integrity of Turkey; Abdul Mejid (1839-1861) had promised to carry out reforms which would remedy the grievances of his Christian subjects; the Powers had disclaimed all right to interfere in the internal affairs of Turkey. Within a few years Turkey had lost part of her Empire, reforms had failed and France intervened in Syria.

Alexander II was determined to recover Bessarabia and to annul the Black Sea clauses of the Treaty of Paris; he had failed to maintain his claim to act as the champion of Christians in Turkey but his support of Pan-Slavism gave him a new relation to the Slave under Turkish rule.

Great Britain steadily supported Turkey in the hope that Russia would be prevented from ever securing Constantinople and becoming a still greater danger to British interests in the Far East and particularly in India.

I. Reform.

A. The *Hatti-Humayun*, 1856.

February, 1856. By the *Hatti-Humayun*, embodied in the Treaty of Paris, Abdul Mejid promised that—

- (1) All his subjects, Christian and Mohammedan, should have personal liberty and equality before the law, and equal liability to military service and taxation.
- (2) Christians should be admitted to office and should be represented on the Council of State.
- (3) Mixed tribunals, on which Christians should serve, were to be established.
- (4) The laws were to be revised and the police system and prisons reformed.
- (5) The government of the provinces was to be reorganised, finances to be placed on a sound footing and roads to be improved.

¹ Page 484.

B. Failure of Reform.

Both Mahomedans and Christians objected.

(1) The Mahomedans.

The Mahomedans strongly objected to the introduction of religious liberty which was opposed to all the traditions of Islam and would deprive the Empire of its religious character; to the admission of Christians to every rank in the army and to civil posts, to the legal equality bestowed upon the Christians who had so long been subordinate.

(2) The Christians.

The Christians feared that under the new system the Greek Patriarch and Bishops would lose the powers they had exercised; they preferred to pay the old poll tax instead of serving in the army.

The Sultan saw that if he enforced reform he would stir up grave dissension at home, if he did not he would incur the displeasure of the Powers. But rivalry between the Powers, and especially between Great Britain and France and Great Britain and Russia, weakened the force of their representations. Although an attempt was made in 1864 to separate justice from the civil administration and to set up peripatetic councils on which Christians could serve, no real reform was effected by Abdul Mejid. Abdul Mejid (1861-1876) promised reform but did nothing but appoint new officials and establish Ministries of Justice and Public Instruction.

1867. The Powers, which, in 1858, had regretted that Turkey "was not proceeding to a gradual and sustained application of reforms," found that the *Asat-Nispet* had not been carried out.

C. France and Russia.

(1) France.

France now advocated the *tanzeim* as an *etat* *tanzeim* under Turkish rule so as to form a single *Ottoman*

nation. An attempt was made by Fındı and Âli, two reforming ministers, to carry out this plan, but the death of the ministers and the defeat of France by Prussia in 1870 broke French influence at Constantinople and the plan failed.

(3) Russia.

Russia advocated the separation of Christian and Mohammedan interests and the formation of autonomous states out of the various Christian nations. Russian influence was strengthened by the abrogation of the Black Sea clauses of the Treaty of Paris and the integrity of the Turkish Empire was impaired by the formation of Christian states in the Balkans.

II. The Turkish Provinces.

A. Syria.

1860. The massacre of the Christian Maronites by the Mohammedan Druses, with the connivance of the Turkish authorities, led to strong protests from France, who at one time seemed likely to occupy Syria.

June, 1861. Lebanon was separated from Syria and placed under the authority of a Christian governor nominated by the Great Powers and the Porte.

B. Montenegro.

May 14th, 1863. The Montenegrins routed the Turks at Grubova.

August 31st, 1862. A subsequent rising of the Montenegrins was crushed and the Convention of Skutari forbade them to build frontier forts or to import arms.

C. Herzegovina.

December, 1864. Failure of a rising in Herzegovina, supported by Montenegro.

D. Serbia.

March, 1861. Rising in Serbia against Turkish rule.

June, 1862. Disputes between the Serbians and the Turkish garrison at Belgrade led to the bombardment of the city by the Turks.

March, 1867. The Turkish garrison was withdrawn from Belgrade.

E. Creta.

1866. The Cretans, exasperated by Turkish misrule, and especially by a massacre of Christians in 1869, demanded redress of grievances, established a "sacred hetaeria," proclaimed the abolition of Turkish authority and union with "Mother" Greece, who actively helped the insurgents.

January, 1869. The grant of a measure of local self-government ended the unrest, which had lasted about four years.

F. Greece.

December 15th, 1898. The Turks, exasperated by the help given by the Greeks to the Cretan insurgents, presented an ultimatum demanding that Greece should cease from helping Cretan rebels. The Powers compelled Greece to comply with the Turkish demands.

February 6th, 1899. Diplomatic relations were resumed between Turkey and Greece.

G. Moldavia and Wallachia.

December 13rd, 1860. Moldavia and Wallachia united to form the Principality of Rumania.

H. Egypt.

(1) The Khedive.

June 25th, 1867. The Sultan made the powerful Pasha Ismail, Khedive of Egypt; the title was made hereditary and the Khedive received the power of making agreements with foreign powers with regard to the postal service, customs and police.

(3) The Suez Canal.

1859. Ferdinand de Lesseps with the approval of the Turkish, Egyptian, Russian, French and Austrian governments and in spite of the strong opposition of Great Britain, which was due mainly to Palmerston and Stratford de Redcliffe, commenced the Suez Canal.

November 17th, 1869. The Canal was opened.

III. General.

During the period following the Treaty of Paris Turkey failed to justify her admission to the comity of European Powers by carrying out internal reform.

Russia had been compelled to give up her claim to protect the Christian subjects of Turkey, but the growing demand for autonomy, caused by the opposition of Christians to Mohammedan rule, and the oppression of Turkish governments weakened the power of Turkey in her provinces and tended to promote growing sympathy between her Slav subjects and Russia.

References :

- * *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. XI, pp. 635 *et seq.*
- A Political History of Contemporary Europe* (Seignashov), Holmström, pp. 625 *et seq.*

GREECE, 1832-1864

I. Otto.

February, 1832. Otto of Bavaria, at the age of seventeen, became King of Greece under the guarantee of the Powers.¹

¹ Page 190.

A. The Constitution of 1844.

(1) Unpopularity of Bavarian Regime.

The appointment of a Regency consisting of three Bavarians and the failure of the Government to grant a Constitution, which the Powers had made a condition of Otto's accession, caused great discontent.

The Government was centralised and bureaucratic. It secured the independence of the Hellenic Church; it established the capital at Athens instead of Nafpakti; it formed a gendarmerie in 1833; established a Council of State and reformed local administration; the University of Athens was established in 1837.

Great Britain, France and Russia guaranteed a loan, but the proceeds were squandered instead of being used for the construction of roads and the development of the country; to meet the interest on the loan salt was made a government monopoly, and this increased the unpopularity of the Bavarian regime; brigandage was rife and disorder general.

(2) A Military revolt.

The guaranteeing Powers strongly resented the misgovernment of Greece, demanded payment of the interest on the loan and compelled Otto to reduce his expenses by disarming the Bavarian soldiers who were his main support.

September 16th, 1841. Greek soldiers attacked the Palace and compelled Otto to promise a Constitution which was favoured by Great Britain and France.

(3) The Constitution.

March 16th, 1844. Otto accepted a Liberal Constitution which established a Chamber of Deputies elected by universal suffrage and a Senate selected by the King, and made ministers responsible to the Parliament.

B. Constitutional Government.

(1) Otto's difficult position.

Although Otto tried to rule in accordance with the Constitution he failed to solve the difficulties that arose.

Greece was a small and poor country; political passion was intense, elections were corrupt and the proceedings of Parliament violent. The necessity of former glories persisted and the Greeks failed to understand that the limitation of their own resources made them dependent upon the good will of the Powers. The Greeks were bitterly hostile to Turkey and were anxious to weaken her as far as possible; this hostility aroused the resentment of Great Britain, who was resolved to maintain the integrity of the Turkish Empire. Differences between the guaranteeing Powers added to Otto's difficulties.

(2) The Powers.

The establishment of the Constitution had been a victory for Great Britain and France over Russia.

1844. The French secured control of the Ministry.

a. The British blockade the Piræus, 1850.¹

The British claimed possession of the islands of Sapienza and Cervo, which formed part of the Locrian Isles and had been seized by the Greeks; they claimed compensation for George Finlay, the historian, whose property had been seized and added to the King's park at Athens, and for Don Pacifico, a British subject, whose house at the Piræus had been plundered in April, 1847.

January, 1850. To enforce the British claims a fleet under Admiral Parker blockaded the Piræus.

¹ See *Notes on British History*, Part IV, page 606.

Russia and France strongly objected to the blockade; the failure of French mediation followed by a second blockade of the Pinares in April, 1859, and commitment at Don Pacifico's ridiculous claim for £25,000,¹ temporarily weakened the good understanding between the Powers.

b. The French and British occupy the Pinares, 1854-1857.

The Greeks had seized the opportunity afforded by the Crimean War to invade Epirus and Thessaly. Great Britain and France strongly objected.

May, 1854-February, 1857. French and British troops occupied the Pinares, and these two Powers compelled Otto, who strongly favoured war with Turkey, to remain strictly neutral during the Crimean War.

c. The Paris Conference, 1859.

The continuance of brigandage and the failure of the Greeks to pay the interest they owed the Powers led Russia, France and Great Britain to compel Greece to promise to pay the interest she owed.

C. Deposition of King Otto, 1862.

Otto, a Bavarian and a Roman Catholic, had never been popular with the Greeks, and his continued misgovernment gave just cause of offence.

The action of the Powers added to the unpopularity of Otto, who was thought to have sacrificed the interests of Greece in yielding to the Powers, and led to serious differences between the court party and the democrats. The sympathy of the King and Queen, Anna of Oldenburg, with the Austrians in the Austro-Italian War of 1859² increased the resentment of the Greeks, who strongly favoured the Italians.

¹ Settled in 1861 for £104.

² Page 422.

October 23rd, 1832. A military rising led to the establishment of a democratic Provisional Government and the deposition of Otto.

II. King George I.¹

Russia, France and Great Britain now agreed that no member of their royal houses should become a candidate for the throne of Greece. The Greeks by 230,000 votes out of 341,000 elected Prince Alfred,² a son of Queen Victoria, but Great Britain was compelled to decline the offer owing to the recent agreement. In acknowledgment of the compliment she promised to cede the Ionian Isles to Greece if a suitable king was chosen and constitutional government maintained.

March 30th, 1833. Election of William, son of Christian IX of Denmark, as King George I. The guaranteeing Powers gave him £12,000 a year out of the interest due to them from Greece.

October 26th, 1833. King George arrived in Greece.

A. The New Constitution, 1834.

A more democratic Constitution was established with a single Legislative Chamber elected by universal suffrage; the Senate was replaced by a Council of State nominated by the King, but the latter was abolished in November, 1865.

The lack of a second Chamber removed a necessary check on the Legislature, which proved too susceptible to passionate popular opinion.

B. The Ionian Isles.

May 26th, 1834. The Ionian Isles were ceded to Greece.

C. Costs.

The support given by Greece to insurgents in Crete nearly led to war with Turkey.³

¹ See chronological tree, page 335. ² Duke of Edinburgh. ³ Page 495.

I. General.

The Government of George I restored discipline in the army and navy; suppressed brigandage in 1839; maintained precarious relations with Turkey. It was an improvement upon the Government of Otto, but the extreme factionalism of Greek politics and lack of internal resources prevented a satisfactory settlement of the country.

References :

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XI, pp. 237-264 and 642-643.

A Political History of Contemporary Europe (Belgiushev), pp. 682-686.

THE BALKAN LANDS

The history of the emancipation of the Balkan Lands from Turkish rule forms an important part of the Eastern Question which proved a most difficult problem in the nineteenth century. The problem concerned not only Turkey but also Russia, who wished to extend her territory towards the South, and as the leading Slav State and the champion of the Orthodox Greek Church had much sympathy with the people of the Balkan States, most of whom were Greek Christians speaking Slavonic languages. Austria, which was anxious to prevent any interference with the navigation of the Danube, Great Britain and France wished to prevent the extension of Russian influence, and Great Britain laid great stress on the maintenance of the integrity of the Turkish Empire as a barrier against a Russian advance.

I. General.

The people of the Balkan lands had been conquered by the Turks in the fifteenth century but, in spite of their common subjection to the Sultan, they had remained sharply divided by language, dress and national feeling.

A. Serbians and Bulgarians.

The Serbians and Bulgarians were Slavs and, except in Bosnia where there was a Roman Catholic element, Orthodox Greek Christians.

B. Albanians.

The Albanians, a race of warlike mountaineers, were Mahomedans.

C. Romanians.

The Romanians (Moldavians and Wallachians) were Greek Christians who had been affected by Turkish rule less than their neighbours and retained their old Christian aristocracy of landowners who, up to the end of the seventeenth century, elected the Hospodar as prince. But during the eighteenth century the Romanian Hospodars were replaced by Turkish vassals, who were often Phanariots,¹ and held office for seven years.

The population consisted almost entirely of peasants working under miserable conditions on the estates of absentee landlords who spent most of their time in Jassy, the capital of Moldavia, or Bucharest, the capital of Wallachia, which were the only important towns.

D. Montenegrins.

The Montenegrins were a democracy of warriors, allied to the Serbians, and professing the Orthodox Greek Faith.

Difficulties arose owing to conflicting frontier interests and the presence of Balkan people in neighbouring States; e.g. Rumanians were found in Transylvania, Hungary and Rusearabia; Serbians in Hungary.

II. Roumania (Moldavia and Wallachia).

A. The Congress of Paris, 1858.

In order to check Russian influence Moldavia and Wallachia were placed under the guarantee of the Powers; the Sultan, to whom they paid an annual tribute, gave them autonomy in internal affairs but reserved the right of controlling foreign policy. Bessarabia was restored to Moldavia by Russia and a European Commission, assisted by a "Divan" in each Principality, was established to settle the constitution of the provinces.

B. Union.

(1) The Powers and Union.

France, at first supported by Great Britain, favoured the union of Moldavia and Wallachia into a Principality of Roumania. Austria and Turkey strongly opposed the union and manipulated the elections to prevent it. Great Britain, fearing that the union might favour Russian interests, changed her attitude and also opposed it, while some Moldavians feared that union would make Bucharest and the Wallachian interest supreme.

Napoleon III compelled the Sultan to annul the elections.

October, 1857. The new Divans demanded the union of the two Principalities under a foreign prince.

August 19th, 1858. The Powers at Paris arranged that "the United Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia" should have separate Hospodars and elective assemblies but that a joint commission of sixteen members should deal with affairs common to both.

(2) Alexander I, 1859-1866.

January, 1859. Cuza was elected Hospodar of both Moldavia and Wallachia and thus a personal union of the Principalities was effected.

1861. *Cornu* was recognised by the Sultan as Alexander I., "Prince of Roumania."

December 23rd, 1861. The union of Moldavia and Wallachia was proclaimed at Bucharest and Jassy; a single Ministry and a single National Assembly were established and *Cornu* declared "The Roumanian nation is founded."

Alexander I. ruled despotically and his refusal to put the constitution in force led to strife between him and the Assembly; his attempt to enfranchise the peasants infuriated the nobles; a proposal to confiscate ecclesiastical property alienated the Church; by making tobacco a government monopoly he aroused general indignation.

February 26th, 1866. A plot formed by the nobles led to the deposition of Alexander I.

C. Charles I.

April 26th, 1866. Election of Prince Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. The support of Great Britain, France and Prussia ensured his accession in spite of the opposition of Russia; the Sultan, who had resented his election, formally recognised him on October 23rd, 1866.

(1) The new Constitution, 1866.

Prince Charles accepted the new Constitution which established a Senate, elected for the most part by holders of property, and a Chamber of Deputies, elected by practically universal suffrage; the King was to choose his ministers, who were responsible to Parliament; trial by jury; liberty of the press and of public meeting were assured; local government was organised according to departments and districts.

The Constitution was strongly Liberal and the opposition it involved from the Conservatives made political differences extremely bitter.

(1) Political parties.

Two main parties were formed. The Conservative *Whites* consisted of the old landowners, objected to reform and favoured an understanding with Russia. The Liberal *Blacks*, led by John Bontine, wished to establish friendly relations with Austria and Germany. Charles favoured the Liberals.

(2) The work of Charles.

Charles ruled as a constitutional monarch; he reorganised the army; refused in 1869¹ to support Greece against Turkey or, in 1866, Hungary against Austria.

But his position was difficult. National finances were in disorder; Roumania sympathised with France in her struggle with Germany and resisted the candidature of Charles' brother Leopold² for the Spanish Crown; in 1870 the Chamber officially expressed its sympathy with France. The Conservatives repudiated the just claims of German shareholders in the Roumanian railways. Discontent in 1870 led to an anti-dynastic outbreak.

December, 1870. Charles resolved to abdicate, but a tour through the country aroused him of the loyalty of the mass of the people and he gave up the idea of abdication.

III. Serbia.

In the early history of Serbia the rivalry of the families of Karageorgievitch and Obrenovitch is an important factor. Kara George³ was a *vojvoda* who was assassinated in 1817.

A. The beginning of the Principality of Serbia.

1819. The Sultan recognised Mijak Obrenovitch, formerly a *vojvoda*, as hereditary prince of Serbia.

¹ Page 428.² Page 426.³ I.e. Kara George.

B. The House of Obrenovitch.

(1) Milosh Obrenovitch.

December 23rd, 1858. Prince Alexander Karageorgievitch, son of Kara George, was deposed owing to his subserviency to Austria and Turkey. Milosh Obrenovitch was restored and secured the recognition of the hereditary right of his family to the throne.

September 26th, 1860. Death of Milosh. Accession of his son Michael.

(2) Michael Obrenovitch.

Michael adopted a vigorous policy towards Austria and Turkey. He wished to unite Hungary, Bosnia and Montenegro to Serbia, and partly with this object, partly to resist Turkey, reorganised the army.

1862. Michael secured the withdrawal of Turkish garrisons from all but four towns of Serbia, including Belgrade.

1867. Austria was weakened by the recent war with Prussia; the Christians of Turkey seemed likely to rise. Michael seized the opportunity and secured from the Sultan the withdrawal of the Turkish garrisons from Belgrade.

June 10th, 1868. Michael was assassinated by supporters of the Karageorgievitch family with the connivance of Austria. The National Assembly refused to elect Peter Karageorgievitch and chose Michael's cousin Milan, a boy of fourteen.

(3) The Regency, 1868-1872.

Kutitch, the leader of the Liberals, was President of the Council of Regency which ruled Serbia during Milan's minority. Two distinct tendencies appeared in Serbian politics.

The Liberals, who did not favour Western civilisation, worked through the Shoupkins, or repre-

mentative assembly, wished to maintain ceremonial autonomy and resisted new taxation. They supported alliance with Russia and the formation of Greater Serbia.

The Conservatives favoured the introduction of the institutions of Western monarchies; supported the Central Government as against the *Slobochtines* and local chieftains; advocated the imposition of new taxes to meet the cost of increasing the army and developing the resources of the country. They wished to secure an alliance with Austria.

IV. Montenegro.

Montenegro, although nominally subject to Turkey, had gained practical independence early in the eighteenth century. It was a Christian, democratic, matriarchal state governed by *Flaškes* or prince-bishops.

A. Danilo, 1851-1860.

1851. Danilo, who, in accordance with the usual custom, had succeeded his uncle as *Flaška*, became Prince of Montenegro. The Czar compelled the Sultan to withdraw troops sent against Danilo in 1852, and a subsidy was paid to Danilo by Russia for assistance given during the Crimean War.

1858. The Turks, who had invaded Montenegro because Danilo repudiated Turkish suzerainty, were routed at Grahovo.

1860. Assassination of Danilo.

B. Nicholas, 1861.

Continuation of the struggle against Turkey.

1862. Nicholas, to assist the revolt in Herzegovina, took up arms against Turkey but was compelled by the Powers to accept the Convention of Sirtani.¹

¹ Page 488.

V. Bulgaria.

Bulgaria was a land of Christian peasants subject to Mohammedan landlords; the Greek bishops had maintained their authority; no Bulgarian Church had been founded and Bulgaria at the beginning of the nineteenth century "had ceased to form a nationality."

After the Russian occupation in 1828 the Bulgarians, with the support of Russia, tried to secure a national Church independent of the Greek Patriarch.

1870. The Sultan Abdul Aziz established the Bulgarian Exarchate as an independent religious community. This grant stimulated the loyalty of the Bulgarians towards the Sultan for a time, but the growing feeling of nationality and the desire for political independence were soon to lead to hostility between Turkey and Bulgaria.

References:

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XI, chap. 330 (2).

A Political History of Contemporary Europe (Seignobos), Heinemann, chap. 331.

SECTION VII
THE LESSER STATES

SWITZERLAND

I. France and the Unity of Switzerland.

During the nineteenth century Switzerland became a Federal State the independence and neutrality of which were guaranteed by the Great Powers.

A. The Swiss Confederation up to 1798.

(1) The Confederation.

The Confederation was a loosely connected league of petty sovereign States, which were united only by the need of common defence.

Some of the smaller Cantons formed within the Federation the League of the Seigneurs and Vassals.

The Diet of the Confederation was only a meeting of ambassadors who were hampered by the obligation of following instructions received from their Cantons; it possessed very little political power.

(2) Local differences.

The States were separated by differences of race, religion and political organisation.

a. Race.

There were four distinct races speaking different languages: French, German, Italian, Romansch.

b. Religion.

The Protestants, who were divided into Calvinists and Zwinglians, were strong in Zürich, Basle, Vaud and Geneva. Lucerne, Fribourg, the Valais were Roman Catholic. The Protestant Cantons were largely industrial, the Catholics mainly agricultural.

(3) Political Differences.

a. The States.

The States were divided into thirteen confederate Cantons,¹ which were full members of the Confederation, Associates and Allies.

b. Local Government.

Medieval *Landsgemeinden*, assemblies attended by every citizen, continued to meet in some smaller Cantons such as Uri and Unterwalden.

The "Patricians," or civic aristocracy of the towns, monopolised the government in Bern, Lucerne, Zürich, Freiburg and Solothurn; the poorer citizens of the towns were excluded from office; the rural districts were treated as subjects.

The King of Prussia owned Neuchâtel, the Bishop of Basle and the Abbot of St. Gall exercised great authority in their own dioceses.

B. The Helvetic Republic.

1798. The French established the Helvetic Republic under which Switzerland became a "united State with a central government in which the Executive, Legislature and Judiciary were separated. All citizens were equal before the law and were eligible for office; a common suffrage was instituted; a uniform system of postal service, law and coinage was introduced; the old differences between Cantons, Associates and Allies and between ruling citizens and subject peasants were abolished.

¹ Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Lucerne, Zürich, Bern, Zug, Glarus, Appenzel A. O., Appenzel S. O., Solothurn, Schaffhausen and Appenzel A. U. — *Notes on European History*, Vol. 2, page 278.

A single national government replaced the old cantonal sovereignty. The change led to the formation of two distinct parties—the Federalists sought to restore the old order and were supported by the "Patricians" and the Roman Catholic Forest Cantons; the Unitary Party, which was strongest in the French Canton of Vaud, aimed at maintaining the unity of the country and the equality of its citizens.

I. The Act of Mediation, 1803.

Napoleon tried to reconcile the opposing parties by the Act of Mediation which, while maintaining the equality of all citizens before the law and granting freedom of residence and freedom of trade, reconstituted the old loose Confederacy to which six additional Cantons were added from the Allied and subject districts. But the re-establishment of the old *Landsgemeinden* in some Cantons and the institution of popular government in others made the Cantons into representative democracies. The Diet received the sole right of making war and concluding treaties, and resolutions passed by the Diet were, in certain cases, to be binding on the Cantons.

II. Switzerland from 1815 to 1830.

The Act of Mediation nearly led to civil war in 1813. The majority of the Cantons, and especially the new ones, supported the Act, but the Patricians of Bern and Solothurn and five Roman Catholic Cantons demanded the restoration of the old Constitution and withdrew from the Diet. Metternich supported their demands but Alexander I persuaded the Powers to recognize the Cantons, the number of which was raised to twenty-two in 1814 by the addition of the Valais, Neuchâtel and Geneva. The Congress of Vienna adjudicated on the claims to "subject lands," and gave Bern compensation for those she had lost.

Civil war was averted and a new settlement was made by the Federal Pact.

A. The Federal Pact, 1815.

(1) Terms

The Federal Pact allowed the Cantons to make alliances among themselves; did not ensure the right of residence and equality before the law, or religious liberty; vested the Directory in the Cantonal Executives of Zürich, Berne and Lucerne alternately. The Diet, although weakened by concessions to the Cantons, received authority to organise and direct a Federal army.

(2) Criticism.

French influence had been broken by the defeat of Napoleon and the Federal Pact was the work of Switzerland itself. The Powers could not claim any right to vary it or to interfere in the internal affairs of Switzerland.

Switzerland still remained a Confederation of States rather than a Federal State.

The increased power given to the Cantons was used to check the development of democratic government. In the older Cantons the chief towns remained supreme; in the newer, elections were indirect, the right of election depended upon property qualifications, and representatives were elected for long periods to avoid frequent elections.

The Roman Catholic Cantons allowed the Jesuits to return.

B. The Act of Neutralisation.

November 30th, 1815. By the Act of Neutralisation, a part of the Treaty of Paris, the Allies recognised the neutrality, inviolability and independence of Switzerland.

C. Economic Progress from 1815 to 1830.

From 1815 to 1830 Switzerland prospered. Commerce and manufactures greatly increased; traffic was facilitated by a new road over the St. Gotthard Pass; steamers began to ply on the lakes. The more advanced Cantons remedied some of the defects of the Federal Pact and permitted freedom of residence and marriage between inhabitants of different Cantons. The Federal army was reorganised by Dufour.

III. The Democratic Movement. "The Period of Regeneration," 1830-1847.

The Greek War of Independence and the July Revolution in France gave a great impulse to the democratic movement which aimed at amending the Cantonal Constitutions, strengthening the Federal Executive, establishing the sovereignty of the people and making representative democracy the prevailing government. Great meetings were held, particularly at Unter in the Canton of Zürich, on November 22nd, 1830, to support the movement.

A. The Amendment of Cantonal Constitutions.

(1) Peaceable amendment.

Eleven Cantons peaceably amended their constitutions and established universal suffrage; equality before the law; liberty of the press, belief, trade and residence; the separation of the executive, legislative and judicial powers; protection from arbitrary arrest.

(2) Disturbances in Basle, Schwytz and Nuchâtel.

Disturbances arose in Basle and Schwytz, where the country districts resented the continued supremacy of the towns; Federal intervention against the mal-

contents of Basle proved unsuccessful; ultimately the two Cantons were divided into Urban and Rural Basle and Inner and Outer Schwytz respectively, and each division received half a vote in the Diet. In Baslestadt a rising to secure greater concessions than the King of Prussia was willing to make was sternly repressed.

(2) The formation of Opposing Leagues.

March 17th, 1832. The Liberal Cantons of Zürich, Bern, Lucerne, Solothurn, St. Gall, Aargau and Thurgau resented the refusal of the Federal Diet to guarantee their new constitutions and formed the League of Seven to protect their interests.

November 14th, 1832. Urban Basle, Baslestadt, Uri, Schwytz and Unterwalden maintained that the recent division of Basle and Schwytz was a violation of the Federal Pact and formed the League of Eleven.

B. The Amendment of the Federal Pact.

(1) The need of amendment.

The Liberals wished to amend the Federal Pact in order to strengthen the Executive. The Diet had proved feeble, it had failed to maintain the interests of Switzerland against separatist Cantons and foreign powers; it was limited by instructions from the Cantons; it required the agreement of twelve Cantonal Legislatures before passing resolutions; it had failed properly to regulate the postal service or coinage; the alternation of the Diet between Bern, Lucerne and Zürich led to inconsistent policy and these Cantonal Executives resented the heavy addition to their labours which the Federal business entailed.

The Pact was threatened from two quarters. The Liberals wished to amend it in order to strengthen the Executive. On July 17th, 1832, the Diet accepted the principle of amendment on the suggestion of

Thurgau. In March, 1833, the Federal Diet was summoned to Zurich to consider the amendment of the Pact; the League of Bern set up a rival Diet at Schwyz and denied the supreme authority of the Federal Diet. There arose a real danger that the unity of Switzerland would be broken.

(1) Failure of the proposed amendment, 1833.

A proposal was made in the Diet at Zurich that a Federal Directory of five members should be established which should control the army, postal service, customs and coinage; that members of the Diet should not be bound by instructions from their Cantons except in questions of peace and war and alterations in the Constitution.

July 7th, 1833. Rejection of the proposals owing to the unexpected opposition of Lucerne, the people of which were persuaded by the priests to vote against the amendment although it would have made Lucerne the seat of the Executive.

(2) Dissolution of the League of Bern.

Opposition to amendment was strengthened by the sympathy of Austria, although the opposition of Great Britain and France prevented Metternich from active interference. The League of Bern, encouraged by the attitude of Metternich and the rejection of the proposed amendment, tried to bring the revolted half-Cantons of Nid and Ober Schwyz under the authority of the other halves. The League was broken up by the Federal army; Bern remained divided but Schwyz was united into one Canton.

The League of Bern was dissolved and its members were compelled to attend the Federal Diet. A movement to separate Neuchâtel from Switzerland also failed.

The Amendment of the Pact had not been entered but the unity of Switzerland had been maintained.

IV. The Sonderbund.

A. Changed Conditions.

(1) Political.

After the failure to secure the Amendment of the Pact Moderate Liberals, representing the middle class, abstained from political agitation. Extreme Liberals, or Radicals, supported by the mass of the people and directed by the National Forum, determined to secure a revision of the Constitution.

(2) Religion.

In the Catholic Cantons an attempt, supported by the peasants, was made to strengthen the position of Catholicism.

(3) Refugees.

After the revolutions of 1830 many political refugees fled to Switzerland where they often plotted against their own governments, and in February, 1834, Martini arranged in Switzerland for the invasion of Savoy by the Poles. The Great Powers strongly resented the asylum afforded to rebels, and in 1838 the presence of Louis Napoleon, who had become a citizen of Thurgau, nearly led to war with France. The Radicals held that democratic principles and the independence of Switzerland compelled them to protect the refugees; the Moderate Liberals united with the Conservatives to strengthen the authority of the police over the refugees.

B. Religious Strife.

Religious disputes aggravated party feelings.

(1) The Articles of Baden.

January, 1834. Basel, St. Gall, Aargau, Bern, Lucerne, Solothurn and Thurgau agreed, by the Articles of Baden, to assert the rights of the State against the Roman Catholic Church.

The Pope condemned the Articles; strong opposition prevented the assenting Cantons from enforcing them, but they caused great indignation among the Roman Catholics.

(2) Zürich.

1839. The appointment of the fourth-tier Struam to a theological chair at Zürich infuriated the orthodox Protestants and led to the substitution of a Conservative for a Liberal Government.

(3) The Aargau Monasteries.

1841. The failure of the Roman Catholics, instigated by the monasteries, to overthrow the Liberal Government led the Canton to decree the suppression of the monasteries although they were guaranteed by the Federal Pact.

1843. Owing to the resentment of Roman Catholics at the suppression Aargau restored four monasteries. The majority of the Federal Diet accepted this as a final solution of the question.

C. The Sonderbund.

The Roman Catholics were enraged by the suppression of the monasteries in Aargau and resented the action of the Federal Diet in condoning a breach of the Federal Pact.

(1) Formation.

September, 1845. Lucerne, Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden, Zug and Fribourg (joined later by the Valais) formed the Sonderbund,¹ to secure, if necessary with foreign help, the restoration of the Aargau monasteries, and to resist, by armed force if necessary, the expulsion of the Jesuits, which the Liberals demanded, and the amendment of the Federal Pact.

The Sonderbund, which was finally established on

¹ i.e. Separate League.

December 11th, 1845, and represented about one-third of the Swiss people, aimed at securing supremacy in the Diet rather than separating from the Swiss Confederation. The Federal Diet was bound to oppose a movement "which substituted force for law, and threatened treason against the State." The "Sonderbund war was a war of principles between a controlling lay policy and a canonical sectarian policy."

- (2) The struggle between the Sonderbund and the Protestant Cantons.

1844. The Sonderbund demanded in the Diet the restoration of the monasteries. Aargau demanded the expulsion of the Jesuits from Switzerland. The Diet refused both demands.

1845. The action of Lucerne, which gave the Jesuits control of its higher education, led to armed risings of the Liberals which were suppressed with much bloodshed.

Growing opposition to the Jesuits enabled the Liberals to obtain control in Vaud, Berne, Geneva and St. Gall and thus to secure a majority in the Federal Diet.

July-September, 1847. The Federal Diet resolved to dissolve the Sonderbund, annul the Federal Pact and expel the Jesuits. The Sonderbund determined on armed resistance and sought foreign aid.

- (3) The Powers and the Sonderbund.

Mettetrach, who viewed with alarm the spread of Liberalism in Switzerland, claimed that, as the Congress of Vienna had accepted the Federal Pact, the Powers had the right to criticize any proposals for its amendment, and advocated armed intervention by the Powers. Frederick William IV was eager for intervention, which was supported by Russia. Louis Philippe and Gaiist, who wished to replace the

alliance with Great Britain, which had been broken owing to the Spanish Marriages,¹ by an alliance with Austria, favoured intervention, but knew that intervention would meet with strong opposition in France. Guizot suggested that a European Conference should meet to decide the question, and Austria would not intervene without France.

Palmerston was anxious to take revenge on Guizot for his conduct with regard to the Spanish Marriages; the letters written by Guizot to the *Spectator* gained much sympathy for the Swiss Liberals in England. Palmerston, unwilling definitely to break with Austria, contrived to delay the meeting of the proposed Conference and privately urged the Federal Diet to deal promptly with the Sonderbund.

(4) The defeat of the Sonderbund.

The Sonderbund received 400,000 florins from Austria and 3000 guns from Louis Philippe; an Austrian army appeared on the frontier.

The Diet, which by the resolutions of July-September, 1847, had defied the Powers, made Dabour commander-in-chief of the Federal forces, which numbered 100,000 men, about 70,000 more than those of the Sonderbund, and were quickly mobilised.

November 4th, 1847. The Diet ordered Dabour to suppress the Sonderbund. The forces of the Sonderbund formed three isolated divisions, Freiburg, the Valais and the Forest Cantons (with Lucerne and Zug). Dabour, moving very rapidly, attacked each division with overwhelming forces; he displayed dexterous generalship, ended the war in twenty-five days and lost only seventy-eight killed.

November 14th, 1847. Freiburg capitulated.

November 24th, 1847. Lucerne capitulated.

November 28th-29th, 1847. Capitulation of the Forest Cantons and the Valais.

November 30th, 1847. Presentation of a Note from the Great Powers (excluding Great Britain) offering mediation. The offer came too late, as the work of the Conference had been anticipated by the victory of Liberalism.

The *Sonderbund* was formally dissolved and ordered to bear the cost of the war.

December 7th, 1847. The Diet denied the right of any powers to intervene in Switzerland as its independence had been formally recognised in 1815. The European Revolutions of 1848 rendered any intervention impossible and Switzerland settled her own Constitution without foreign interference.

V. The Constitution of 1848.

September, 1848. The Federal Diet, by fifteen and a half votes against six and a half, approved of the reformed Constitution.

A Federal State.

Switzerland was declared a Federal State instead of a Confederation of States.

(1) Machinery of the Federation.

a. Legislature.

The Legislature consisted of the Senate of forty-four members, two from each Canton, and the National Council directly representing the people and elected in proportion to the population.

b. Executive.

The Executive consisted of seven members elected for three years by the Senate and National Council jointly, who also chose one member of the Executive as President of the Federation for one year.

c. Judicature.

A Federal Court of Justice was established.

(3) Power of the Federation.

The Federation received the sole power of directing foreign policy and of making war and concluding peace. It controlled the army.

The Federation alone made arrangements for the settlement of the customs, weights and measures, and the postal service.

It guaranteed to all Swiss citizens equality before the law and freedom of religion, of residence, of public meeting and of the press. But it banished the Jesuits and withdrew the guarantees which the Federal Pact had given to the monasteries.

B. The Cantons.

The Federation guaranteed the Constitutions of the Cantons provided that they were consistent with the Federal Constitution, Republican (i.e. representative and democratic) in character, approved by the people and liable to alteration on demand of a majority of the electors.

The Cantons were forbidden to make political alliances with one another.

Each Canton retained the right of legislation in civil and penal matters and the supervision of police, education, roads and military service. It appointed its own officials and levied its own taxation.

C. Criticism.

The New Constitution, which was approved by the votes of a majority of the people and of a majority of the Cantons, made Switzerland a united nation, and made Radical doctrine public law in Switzerland.

It was a compromise. The Radicals secured the recognition of the supremacy of the Central Government and of Republican principles but they were compelled to accept a Legislature of two Chambers instead of one as they desired, and to allow a considerable measure of freedom to the Cantons. "The cantonal spirit is still deeply engrained in Switzerland."

VI. Later History of Switzerland.

A. Territory.

(1) Neuchâtel.

May 26th, 1857. Neuchâtel became completely independent of Prussia.

(2) Savoy.

1860. The Swiss were greatly disappointed that when Savoy was ceded to France they did not obtain Northern Savoy, the acquisition of which would have made the position of Geneva more secure.

B. Constitutional Developments.

With the exception of a royalist rising in Neuchâtel in 1856, and some less dangerous risings in Ticino, Switzerland has been free from civil war since 1848. The introduction soon after 1848 of uniform systems of coinage, weights and measures, and postal arrangements, and the abolition of internal customs duties promoted the growth of national unity. The country of the Swiss was no longer their own Canton but the whole of Switzerland. The changes in the Constitution, the result of democratic evolution, have made Switzerland one of the most democratic countries in Europe.

(1) The Cantons.

1807. The Radicals gained a victory over the Old Liberal Party in Zürich and seized the opportunity to give to the people of the Canton—

a. The Referendum.

The right of voting on laws and important financial measures proposed by the cantonal Legislature.

b. The Initiative.

The right of a fixed number of the citizens to propose bills for the Canton.

(2) The Federal Government.

The Austro-Prussian War of 1866 and, still more, the Franco-German War of 1870-1871, showed the Swiss that the old system whereby the Federal Army was composed of contingents from separate Cantons was no longer adequate. The development of railways and the consequent increase in travelling emphasised the need of one Federal legal system instead of the separate cantonal systems, and Radicals demanded "One Code and one Army" under the authority of the Federal Government.

a. Rejection of Amendment.

May 12th, 1872. A proposal to amend the Constitution was rejected by the Liberals of the French-speaking Cantons, who united with Roman Catholics and Conservatives to defend the authority of the Cantons.

b. Amendment carried.

The Vatican Decrees¹ of Pope Pius IX. were strongly resented in Switzerland; an attempt to establish a Roman Catholic bishopric in Geneva in 1872 made the Swiss still more anxious to assert the supremacy of the State over the Church.

April 18th, 1874. An amendment of the Constitution provided that no new *Sees* should be established without the authority of the Federal Government, and that civil marriages were to be compulsory.

c. Referendum and Initiative.

But, to check the undue power of the Federal Government, the amendment also provided that all proceedings of the Federal Legislature must be submitted for confirmation.

¹ Page 499.

by the votes of the whole people on the demand of 30,000 Swiss citizens or eight Cantons, and that if 50,000 asked for a legislative measure they should have the power to propose it).

Thus the people obtained the power of Referendum and Initiative with regard to Federal as well as Cantonal measures, and direct government of the people by themselves, as distinct from representative government, was established.

C. Other Developments.

The union of the country and the adoption of internal Free Trade led to great prosperity.

(1) *Agriculture.*

The peasants, who owned the land, adopted modern methods of agriculture and have devoted special attention to cattle and milk.

(2) *Manufactures.*

In spite of her lack of coal Switzerland became a manufacturing country. Watchmaking, embroidery, silk-weaving, stove-plating and the manufacture of machinery have developed enormously since 1848.

Laws were passed to protect workmen and particularly by Glarus which, on August 10th, 1866, established a twelve-hour working day.

Socialism has made comparatively little progress among the Swiss working-class and strong differences between classes have been prevented by democratic institutions and the keen sense of benevolence felt by the Swiss. Socialist risings have been generally due to foreign agitators, and although the chief unions society, the Gröndli Union, made social democracy its programme, it utterly failed in 1894 to carry a bill guaranteeing to every Swiss citizen "the right to an employment sufficiently remunerative."

(3) Communication.

1847. The first Swiss railway from Zurich to Baden was opened.

1872. The St. Gothard Tunnel commenced. It was completed in 1882. Switzerland thus gained "a commercial international route of the highest importance."

[All the Swiss railways were nationalised in 1898.]

(4) Education.

Partly owing to the stimulus of Protestant education has made great progress. Elementary education became universal and compulsory. Secondary education, varied in kind, steadily developed. Cantonal Universities, particularly those of Zurich and Bern which were founded in 1833-1834, did good work, but no Federal University has been established.

1856. Opening of the Federal Polytechnic School in Zürich.

References :

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XI, chap. viii.

A Political History of Contemporary Europe (Seignobos), chap. xi.

SPAIN, 1843-1878

I. Narvaes, 1844-1851.

The Coalition of Moderates, Progressives and Republicans which had driven out Christina in 1840,¹ was succeeded by the establishment of a Moderate ministry under Narvaes in May, 1844; and Narvaes, with short interruptions, remained in power until 1851.

Christina returned from France and married Mamon, who was created Duke of Rostanga.

A. Dictatorship.

Sarvasat set aside the Progressive Constitution of 1837¹ and established a centralized system in which the Crown exercised all power. His position was strengthened by the action of the Progressives, who refused to record their votes as a protest against official interference in the elections.

(1) The Cortes.

Royal decrees took the place of law, suspended personal liberty and rigorously censored the press. From 1844 to 1850 taxes were levied by royal authority without the full legal sanction of the Cortes. The Crown alone nominated Senators and appointed municipal and provincial authorities; the franchise was limited by the introduction of a property qualification.

1844. The Cortes contained only one liberal member.

(2) Improvement in the administration.

Sarvasat, "a brigand of considerable intelligence," tried to make the administration more efficient.

The adoption of a general system of direct taxation in place of the old arbitrary and variegated arrangement and the simplification of customs dues enabled the budget of 1848 almost to balance revenue and expenditure, although usually there had been a heavy annual deficit. The National Debt was consolidated and national bonds were successfully loaned at three per cent. Brigandage was suppressed and a Carlist rising in Catalonia was put down in 1848.

(3) Roman Catholicism.

Roman Catholicism was recognized as the established religion.

¹ Page 72.

(4) The Spanish Marriages.¹

Queen Isabella married Francis of Austria on October 10th, 1846. The differences between Isabella and her husband and her relations with General Serrano caused grave scandal.

B. Dismissal of Narvaez, 1881.

Gradually Narvaez lost control of the *Mademoras*; the Clerical Party thought that he ought to have done more for the Church and required support from Francis of Austria, who dismissed Narvaez; the budget of 1880 led to a financial crisis.

January, 1881. Queen Isabella dismissed Narvaez.

C. General.

Narvaez' despotic government was strongly criticised by the Liberals; but it gave the country discipline, some measure of prosperity and a stable government which, however despotic, was far better than the political anarchy from which Spain had recently suffered.

II. Prince Murillo, 1861-1882.

A. The Concordat, 1882.

Murillo, who was supported by the clericals, made a Concordat with Rome which provided that Church properties which had not been sold should be restored, that the State should pay the stipends of clergy, allow the payment of money for indulgences, arrange for Roman Catholic teaching in schools under the supervision of the clergy, and crush heresy. The clergy were made censors of books. The Concordat declared that

¹ Page 238.

"Catholicism is the national religion, all others are forbidden."

The Pope agreed that Church jurisdiction should be limited and that those who had bought Church property should keep it.

Liberals strongly protested against the Concordat, which they regarded as a surrender to the Church.

B. The Constitution.

December 1st, 1852. Marilla proposed to alter the Constitution by making the Senate a hereditary Chamber, limiting the franchise, reducing the number of deputies, prohibiting publication of the proceedings of the Cortes which were to pass Government bills as presented. The Budget was to be passed not by vote of the Cortes but by royal decree. The Government might suppress "any publication showing tendencies dangerous to the fundamental principles of society."

Marilla's proposals practically meant the abolition of the parliamentary system.

December 14th, 1852. A combination of political soldiers, whose views were expressed by Narvaez, Liberals and moderate Conservatives, led to the fall of Marilla.

III. Revolution and Counter-Revolution and Reaction, 1854-1858.

A. The Revolution of 1854.

The resources of concilia were exhausted; the scandalous life of Queen Isabella and the pederasties of Christina and Blacasen, who had secured commissions on military commissions, aroused great discontent to which El Mercedazo gave strong expression in spite of the censorship.

June 18th, 1854. The Moderates, led by O'Donnell, who had been recently exiled, rose successfully in

Madrid. Cansinos, realising that the *Moderados* were not strong enough to carry out a revolution alone, secured the active help of the *Progresistas* by issuing, on July 7th, 1854, the "Programme of the Manzanara," which advocated financial and administrative reform and the re-establishment of the National Council.

July 17th, 1854. Successful *Progresista* risings in Madrid and provincial cities.

August 2nd, 1854. Espartero, the leader of the *Progresistas*, became Prime Minister with O'Donnell as Minister of War.

B. The Constituent Cortes.

In the Cortes, which were summoned to draw up a new Constitution, the *Progresistas* had a majority.

(1) The *Progresistas*.

August 28th, 1854. Queen Christina was compelled to leave Spain.

a. Liberal movement.

The *Progresistas* reinstated officials who had been dismissed in 1842; suppressed the Council of State; in 1855 voted a more liberal Constitution which abolished life senators, restored parliamentary forms, gave the Cortes control of finances and re-established freedom of the press. This new Constitution was never put into force.

b. The Church lands.

A proposal was made to offer for sale unseigniorated Church lands as part of a plan for establishing peasant proprietors; the clergy were to be compensated by receiving State bonds. This proposal violated the Concordat of 1851; it led to riots in Madrid; Queen Isabella strongly protested; the Cabinet expelled her clerical advisers from the palace.

c. The Counter-Revolution.

July, 1808. Esquivara, Minister of the Interior, made his report on riots caused by fanatics in Old Castile a means of attacking the Moderate. Isabella supported O'Donnell, who rejected the report.

The National Guard of Madrid rose in support of Republicans but were crushed by Moderate forces in the Counter-Revolution.

July 14th, 1808. Republicans resigned.

C. O'Donnell.

O'Donnell succeeded Republicans, dissolved the Constituent Cortes, abolished the National Militia, revived the Constitution of 1845 but, by the Additional Act, gave the Cortes the control of national finance.

October 15th, 1868. O'Donnell, knowing that his dismissal was impending, resigned.

D. Reaction, 1868-1867.

October, 1868. " For the third time Narvaiz stood like a grim sentinel beside the throne " and reaction was carried farther. All recent Liberal measures were annulled, the central authority was strengthened and the liberty of the press was curtailed.

October 15th, 1867. Narvaiz was dismissed for refusing to give undeserved promotion to the Queen's latest favourite, Lieutenant Mollo.

IV. The Liberal Union.

June 30th, 1868. O'Donnell, the only possible candidate, became Chief Minister. He knew that the Queen was untrustworthy as well as immoral, and determined to secure the support of the less extreme Progressives and to conciliate the Clerical Party. He therefore formed the Liberal Union, a comprehensive ministry, and this " Happy Family," in spite of internal differences, retained office until February, 1868.

A. Domestic Policy.

O'Donnell adopted a conciliatory policy, gave important posts to Progressives and made General Prim a minister. He reintroduced the law for the sale of Church property but conciliated the Pope by recognising the right of the Church to acquire property; he promised to remove the restrictions on the press.

B. Foreign Policy.

In order to divert the people and particularly the army from political intrigue, O'Donnell adopted a vigorous foreign policy. Serious differences existed in the ministry with regard to Italy: all Liberals welcomed the emancipation of Italy but many feared that Napoleon, if successful against Austria, might attack Spain: the Clerical Party sympathised with Italy and the Pope; Queen Isabella and her friends wished to maintain the authority of the Bourbons in Italy. But all united to support O'Donnell's foreign policy which prevented these serious differences from breaking up the Liberal Union.

(1) Morocco.

October 22nd, 1860. Owing to Arab raids near Ceuta war was declared against the Sultan of Morocco.

January 1st, 1861. Victory of General Prim at Los Castillejos.

January 31st, 1861. Capture of Tetuan.

February 23rd, 1861. Victory of Wad-Bou.

April 26th, 1861. Peace was made.

General Prim, created Marquis of Los Castillejos, gained great popularity as the result of the war, although it had proved very costly and involved great loss of life.

[3] Carlist Rising, 1839.

April, 1839. Oteaga, the governor of the Balearic Isles, taking advantage of the absence of the Spanish army, stirred up a Carlist rising and proclaimed Don Carlos, King of Spain. The rising was suppressed, Don Carlos renounced his claims, and the return of the army strengthened the Government.]

[3] San Domingo.

March, 1861. Annexation of San Domingo. A Spanish force put down an insurrection which was provoked by the annexation.

[May, 1865. Spain gave up San Domingo.]

[4] Mexico.

1861. President Juarez expelled the Spanish army and suspended payment of the interest due to foreign powers.

October 31st, 1861. The Convention of London. Great Britain, France and Spain, who had agreed to take common action, disclaimed any intention of interfering in the government of the country.

January 8th, 1862. Prión, a rival of O'Donnell at home, landed at Vera Cruz with a Spanish army.

April 22nd, 1862. Prión, finding that Napoleon III wished to make Maximilian of Austria, Emperor of Mexico, in spite of the Convention of London, withdrew from Mexico.

Prión's action caused great excitement in Spain but he successfully defended himself in the Cortes.

C. End of the Liberal Union.

The National Debt had been greatly increased by the cost of O'Donnell's military expeditions, which had proved of little advantage to Spain; a rising of peasants in Andalusia had been suppressed with great cruelty, and this action, together with the deliberate neglect of internal reform, increased the Progressives.

February 17th, 1863. O'Donnell resigned because the Queen refused his demand that the new Kingdom of Italy should be recognised.

V. Unstable Government.

The Progressives now boycotted the elections and began to plot against the Queen, and some demanded universal suffrage and a republic. Madoz and Rios failed to establish strong governments.

A. Narvaiz, September, 1864-June, 1865.

September 16th, 1864. Narvaiz took office for the fourth time and again adopted a policy of coercion. The Rector of Madrid University was suspended for refusing to remove from his post Professor Castelar who had criticised the policy of the Queen; a meeting of protest held by students was dispersed by the soldiers with a hundred and fourteen casualties.

The financial position was made worse by the cost of expeditions against Peru and Chile.

June, 1865. The indignation caused by the dispersion of the students' meeting led the Queen to dismiss Narvaiz.

B. O'Donnell, June-July, 1866.

June 28th, 1866. O'Donnell again took office and vainly attempted to win over the Progressives by extending the franchise, dismissing the Queen's personal advisers and effecting a reconciliation with Prim.

Prim continued to plot against the Queen. Two military risings in Madrid were suppressed in January and June, 1866.

July 16th, 1866. O'Donnell resigned because the Queen had refused to accept the Senators he nominated.

C. Narvaiz, July, 1866-April, 1868.

Narvaiz again became Chief Minister but, though

originally a Liberal, he established a military dictatorship. He dissolved the Cortes which opposed his policy in July, 1837, a new Cortes, packed by the Government, renounced all parliamentary privileges and sanctioned the imprisonment of any officers who were suspected of ill-feeling towards the Government.

April 22nd, 1838. Death of Narvaiz.

VI. The Revolution of 1838.

A. The Queen.

(1) Immorality.

The Queen, whose immorality had long caused grave scandal, now added to her unpopularity by conferring a marquisate on her latest lover, the *duc de Marlborough*. Radical newspapers, in defiance of the censorship, gave full accounts of her love affairs. The action of *Ferdinand IX* in giving her a Golden Rose in acknowledgment of her virtues caused amusement and indignation.

(2) Unstability.

All politicians felt the truth of O'Donnell's statement that "it was impossible to govern" with her. She utterly lacked political instinct, and cared nothing for the welfare of her people.

(3) Loss of supporters of the Dynasty.

O'Donnell, who, though hostile to Isabella, supported the Bourbon family, died on November 4th, 1837.

Narvaiz, who had steadily opposed revolution and faithfully and risklessly maintained the authority of the Government, died on April 22nd, 1838.

(4) The Progressives.

The Queen's attempt to make the monarchy absolute had provoked the Progressives, who became republican.

(3) General.

The financial disorder, the failure to deal with domestic problems and the general inefficiency of the Government had aroused widespread discontent.

B. The Army.

Recent events in Madrid had shown that the army was disaffected.

(1) Prim.

Prim was opposed to the dynasty and embittered by the personal insult at Isabella. He had fled from Spain to Brussels, where he continued to plot against the Queen.

August, 1867. He failed to stir up a military rising at Valencia because his promises to abolish conscription had offended the officers.

(2) Gonzalez Bravo.

July 7th, 1868. Gonzalez Bravo, who had succeeded Narvaez, arrested Serrano and other Liberal Union leaders and exiled them to the Canaries.

C. The Flight of the Queen.

(1) Topete and Prim.

Admiral Topete, who sympathized with the exiled generals, and Prim, who landed at Gibraltar on September 17th, were joined by Serrano and issued at Cadix a military proclamation demanding the deposition of the Bourbons, the establishment of a provisional government and the introduction of universal suffrage "as the foundation of political and social regeneration."

(2) Success of the Revolution.

Gonzalez Bravo resigned. Serrano advanced on Madrid and defeated the royalists at Alcala on September 29th, 1868. Madrid joined the rebels.

September 30th, 1868. Queen Isabella fled to France "leaving a few shillings in the national exchequer."

VII. The Constitution of 1809.

A. The Provisional Government.

The Provisional Government led by Prim and Serrano proclaimed the sovereignty of the people and freedom of the press, religion and education. They left to the Cortes the decision as to the form of government.

B. The Cortes decided in favour of Monarchy.

January, 1809. Meeting of the Cortes, which were elected by universal suffrage.

(1) Religion.

The Cortes legalised civil marriage and authorised freedom of worship. These laws led to strong opposition from the clergy.

(2) The Government.

The moderate Progressives, the Liberal Union and Madrid wished to establish a monarchy "surrounded by democratic institutions." Catalonia, Aragon and Valencia favoured a federal republic. Sixty deputies were Republicans.

After a bitter struggle the Cortes determined, by 314 votes to 71, to adopt a monarchical form of government, with a democratic constitution. The Republicans formed the "Compact of Tortosa" and tried to establish a republic.

(3) The search for a King.

a. The Carlists.

The Carlists proclaimed Don Carlos, brother of Montemolin, and secured a large measure of clerical support by declaring for "unity of faith" as against religious toleration.

Don Carlos entered Navarre; a Carlist rising on his behalf was suppressed by Serrano; Don Carlos was compelled to withdraw his claims.

i. The Liberal Union.

The Liberal Union proposed Montpensier and left the Ministry because Peñá and the Cortes refused to receive him.

c. Espartero.

Many Spaniards would have made Espartero king but he refused to become a candidate.

d. Prím.

The task of securing a king devolved upon Prím. The King of Portugal, the Duke of Genoa, the eldest son of Victor Emmanuel, refused Prím's offer. The offer Prím made to Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen caused the Franco-German War.¹

1870. Amadeus, Duke of Aosta, second son of Victor Emmanuel, accepted the crown with reluctance.

VIII. King Amadeus, 1870-1873.

Amadeus found his position intolerable. He was opposed by Republicans, Carlists and the Liberal Union; the assassination of Peñá on December 30th, 1870, robbed him of his main support; the Cortes became hostile; in June, 1872, the Moderates and Liberal Union declared in favour of Isabella's son, Alfonso.

February, 1873. Resignation of Amadeus, who "laid down the crown which had been thrust upon him, and left Spain to the dreary round of anarchy, civil war, clerical intrigues, republican excesses, military conspiracies and reaction."²

References :

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XI, chap. xx.

A Political History of Contemporary Europe (Signabach), chap. I.

Story of the Nations : Modern Spain (Hamm), chaps. viii-x.

¹ Page 298.

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XI, page 528.

HOLLAND, 1839-1870

WILLIAM I
1813-1840.

WILLIAM II
1840-1849.

WILLIAM III
1849-1890.

WILHELMINA
1890-

JULIANA.

1. The Constitution of 1848.

The settlement in 1839 of the quarrel with Belgium was welcomed by the Dutch. From 1839 to 1848 they were largely concerned with the revision of the Constitution, which was closely connected with the urgent problem of finance.

A. WILLIAM I, 1813-1840.

The maintenance of a large army from 1830 to 1839 was the main cause of the growth of the National Debt which increased by 378,000,000 florins in ten years. The States-General possessed little control over the finances and King William I, who had exercised practically autocratic power, became very unpopular. His intention of marrying a Belgian Catholic, Countess Henriette d'Orléans, who had been a maid of honour to the late queen, increased his unpopularity.

The Liberals now aimed at securing a revision of the Fundamental Law,¹ ministerial responsibility and the control of the finances by the States-General.

October, 1840. Abdication of William I.

¹ Page 124.

B. William II, 1843-1849.

(1) Finances.

(1) The Minister of Finance, van Hall, raised a Voluntary Loan of 127 million florins in 1844, capitalised annual payments due from Belgians and, assisted by profits from the East Indian Colonies, re-established the financial position.

(2) The growing demand for reforms.

The opposition of William II to constitutional reform, growing resistance to autocratic government, and hardship caused by the potato famine from 1845 to 1847 led to serious outbreaks in 1848.

March 17th, 1848. William II, alarmed by the February Revolution in Paris, appointed a Commission, consisting mainly of Liberals, of whom Professor Thorbecke of Leyden was the best known, to formulate a scheme of reform.

C. The Constitution of 1848.

November 3rd, 1848. The new Constitution, which had been passed by the States-General, was published.

(1) The Crown.

The Monarchy was to be hereditary in the House of Orange. The King was to exercise executive power.

(2) The States-General.

The States-General consisted of the First Chamber, which was to be elected by the Provincial States and not nominated by the King; and the Second Chamber elected directly by people paying a certain amount of direct taxation. The States-General exercised legislative power and the Second Chamber received

the right of proposing laws and amending governmental bills. Ministers were to be responsible to the States-General, which was to approve annual budgets and obtained greater authority over the colonies.

(3) *Local Assemblies.*

Provincial Estates were to deal mainly with roads and canals; communal councils, whose burgomasters were appointed by the Government, were responsible for the police. In each case the members were elected by a direct popular vote.

(4) *Education.*

Private education was allowed; the State was to control public elementary education.

(5) *Religion.*

Freedom of worship and equality before the law were guaranteed to all.

D. *The First Ministry of Thorbecke, 1849-1852.*

March 17th, 1849. William II, who was prepared to put the Constitution into force, died. But Thorbecke rendered great service to Holland by enacting it.

(1) *The Constitution.*

By 1850-1851 he had passed all the necessary laws and made the Constitution effective.

(2) *Finance.*

Thorbecke greatly assisted trade by removing many indirect taxes and by abolishing tolls on vessels trading in the Rhine and Yssel.

1852. The abolition of the excise on pork and mutton was a great boon to the poor.

1852. Haarlem Lake was drained and converted into pasture land.

g. General.

The new Constitution averted any danger of revolution. It greatly strengthened the Liberals. But the King retained much personal power and sometimes selected his ministers from the minority of the States-General if the majority was not united.

II. Religious Questions.

After 1848 religious questions, and especially the question of doctrinal instruction in schools, received much attention. "In the Netherlands parties are chiefly religious, formed on the question of public schools."¹ The Liberals were in favour of non-sectarian schools; the *Anti-revolutionary* party, with which the weak Conservative party was merged, and which after 1848 received the support of many government officials, were strong Calvinists; the Catholics tended to unite with the Liberals, who strongly advocated religious freedom.

A. New Catholic Bishops.

1852. Pope Pius IX, without consulting the Dutch Government, resolved to create an Archbishopric of Utrecht with Bishops of Bruch, Haarlem, Breda and Rotterdam. The *Anti-revolutionary* party strongly objected; the Liberals refused to restrict the "freedom of the Catholics to organise their own religion but gave the Government a right of supervising parishes.

As a result Theobalds resigned and the *Anti-revolutionary* party secured a majority in the States-General. "The April Movement."

B. Primary Education.

A dispute arose as to whether the public primary schools should be "mixed," receiving only gifted

¹ Edgerton.

religious instruction, or "denominational," giving instruction in accordance with the religion professed by the scholars.

1857. The Law of Primary Instruction. A union of Catholics and Liberals established "mixed" schools in every parish. Schools were to educate its scholars "in all the virtues, Christian and social." The Commune paid most of the expenses and appointed the master.

Both the Catholics and the Anti-revolutionary party established private primary schools in which denominational instruction was provided. From 1868 the Catholics made unsuccessful attempts to repeal the law of 1857 which the Liberals steadily supported.

III. Thorbecke's Second Ministry, 1866-1868.

On the weakening of "The April Movement" Thorbecke resumed office and promoted the material interests of Holland by further substituting direct for indirect taxation and lowering customs duties.

1868. A law was passed to promote secondary and technical education.

Communications were improved by the construction of the Canal of Holland and of a water passage through the Hook.

Reich land was reclaimed around the River Y and the port of Texel was built.

IV. The Effects of the European Wars of 1866-1871.

A. Luxembourg and Limburg.

1867. The Conference of London made Limburg a Dutch Province, separated Luxembourg from the German Confederation and made it a sovereign, independent and neutral state belonging to the Orange Dynasty. Thus Napoleon III's desire to purchase Luxembourg was frustrated; Prussian garrisons were

required to evacuate the capital which they had garrikked; William III became Grand Duke of Luxembourg and succeeded, with difficulty, in maintaining the neutrality of Luxembourg during the Franco-German War and resisting the demand of Prussia that the treaty of 1867 should be annulled.

[1890. On the death of William III the Duchy, which was hereditary only in the male line, passed to his nearest male relative, the Duke of Saxe.]

B. The Army.

1870. The fear of German invasion led to a demand that the existing system of drafting and substitution should be replaced by universal conscription and that a Reserve Army should be established instead of the civil National Guards.

After a long struggle the clergy and middle classes succeeded in 1880 in preventing the adoption of conscription.

7. Dutch Colonies.

A. Holland and Great Britain in the Far East.

1815. Great Britain, which had conquered the Dutch Colonies, restored them all except the Cape and British Guiana.

1824. Great Britain obtained Singapore; Holland retained Java and Sumatra and maintained her position in spite of serious native risings in Java in 1825-1826 and Sumatra in 1833.

B. The Cultivation¹

1830-1838. The Governor-General, Johannes van den Bosch, compelled the natives to use one-fifth of their land or labour to grow coffee, sugar, tea, pepper and tobacco for the home market. The large profit made

¹ Cultivation System.

by Holland by the sale of these commodities was used from 1830 to 1839 to meet part of the cost of the army, in 1844 to reorganise national finances and, later, to meet the cost of constructing railways and canals and reclaiming land.

1848. The States-General gained control of the Colonies. Largely owing to the efforts of the Liberals the position of the native cultivators was gradually improved and the obligation to grow commodities for the home market was modified.

1860. Slavery was abolished in the Dutch East Indies.

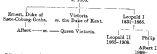
References :

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XI, pp. 651-669.

A Political History of Contemporary Europe (Belgium), pp. 228-244.

BELGIUM, 1830-1870

FERDINAND, Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha
6, 1836.



I. Liberals and Catholics.

A. Separation of the Parties.

In 1830 Liberals and Catholics had united in successful opposition to Holland. King Leopold I desired to maintain the alliance and avoided forming party

ministries. His coalition ministries dealt successfully with such non-political questions as the restoration of Belgian finances, which had become embarrassed owing to the heavy debt incurred by the settlement of 1839,¹ the weakening of commercial relations with Holland and the failure of the National Bank.

Gradually the two parties separated. In 1842 Nothomb's Coalition Ministry passed an act providing that religious instruction should be given in every primary school subject to the right of the Government to supervise. The different classes of Liberals therefore formed a united party and from henceforth the two parties were sharply divided. But the contest between the two was "not between two political parties, but between two societies brought up side by side in opposing principles."²

B. The Liberals.

The Liberals, whose chief bond of union was hostility to the clergy, demanded the extension of the suffrage by the reduction of property qualifications and the exclusive control of all schools by the State. They favoured the "independence of the civil power." Their main strength lay in the Walloon manufacturing provinces, especially in the towns of Brussels and Liège.

C. The Catholics.

The Catholics, led by the Bishops and clergy, aimed at maintaining the "liberty of the Church," and defended local and individual freedom against State interference; they gradually repudiated the Liberal parts of the constitution and faithfully followed the orders of the Pope. They were closely united and far better organised than the Liberals. They were supported by the peasants of the Flemish provinces.

In foreign politics the Catholics strongly supported the temporal power of the Pope, and the Belgian Bishops denounced the government of Italy and Germany.

¹ Page 188.

² Estgenot.

1848. Formation of a ministry composed solely of Catholics.

D. Alternation of Parties.

From 1847 to 1870 the Catholics were in power for twenty years, the Catholics for two.

In 1870 the Liberal party was split. The Dogmatists, led by Rogier, supported the centralisation of power in the national government; wished to maintain the property qualification for the suffrage, and to keep the old military system. Rogier, who went further than most Dogmatists, advocated universal military service and government control over railways and mines. The Young Liberals demanded an extension of the suffrage; some Liberals formed the Anti-Militarist League in 1868 and wished to replace the army with a militia. Flemish Liberals wanted Flemish to be made an official language as well as French; the Liberals of Antwerp resented the construction of new fortifications.

In 1875 the Liberal Party was reconstituted. The Dogmatists and Young Liberals united to form the Liberal Federation, but the Catholics were in power for twenty years between 1870 and 1896.

II. Political and Economic Problems.

A. Education.

The question of Education has been one of the main points of difference between Liberals and Catholics.

1842. Primary Education.¹

1849. Extension of Higher Education.

1850. Rogier's Liberal Ministry resolved that denominational teaching should not be established in secondary schools. The Catholics strongly objected, and in 1853 a Moderate Ministry accepted the "Regulation of Antwerp" which allowed religious teaching in secondary schools in accordance with the faith of the majority of the scholars.

¹ Page 531.

B. The Year of Revolution, 1848.

1847. Formation of Rogier's Liberal Ministry which was pledged to electoral and parliamentary reform. Confidence in the Ministry and in the constitutional rule of Leopold I prevented a revolution in Belgium, where only a single insignificant rising took place in 1848.

1848. Rogier's Ministry lowered the property qualification for the franchise for parliamentary, provincial and communal elections to an annual payment of twenty florins in direct taxation.

This change greatly strengthened the Liberals as it doubled the number of urban voters.

C. Economic Development.

(1) The crisis of 1846-1847.

The export of Belgian linen was reduced by one-half in four years owing to the introduction from England of machinery with which hand-looms could not compete. The distress caused among working people by the ruin of the linen trade was increased by the failure of the potato crop in 1846 and the wheat crop in 1847.

The situation was relieved by the development of other industries, particularly coal and iron; by the employment afforded by the extension of railways, the construction of roads and of the Turnhout canal; by the establishment of model workshops and technical schools.

(2) Rogier's Liberal Ministry, 1857-1890.

a. Reforms.

Rogier did much to promote the material interests of Belgium. He established a National Bank and a General Savings and Assurance Bank. Import duties on foodstuffs were lowered; octroi duties were abolished in 1890;

the abolition of the Dutch tolls on the Scheldt in 1863 led to an increase in commerce and the rapid development of Antwerp.

The penal and commercial codes were revised, freedom of association was granted to workmen, railway rates were reduced.

5. The fall of the Ministry, 1870.

Liberal divisions weakened Rogier's position. Rogier and most of the Liberals resisted the movement to make the Flemish language officially equal to French. The Catholics, who supported the movement, therefore secured the support of the Flemish towns of Antwerp and Ghent and, as many disappointed liberals refused to vote, secured a majority in the elections of 1870.

III. General.

From 1830 to 1870 Belgium made steady constitutional progress, developed her system of education, surmounted economic crises and secured a high standard of commercial prosperity.

King Leopold I (1835-1909), "the father of his people," by his great tact and political insight, helped to guide Belgium successfully through a period of great difficulty. His wife, Queen Marie Louise, who died in 1880, won the hearts of the Belgians and added to the popularity of the monarchy.

References:

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XI, pp. 669-674.

A Political History of Contemporary Europe, pp. 244-255.

SWEDEN, 1814-1870

I. The Position of Sweden in 1815.

A. Political.

The King was the centre of political life, but after 1809 he could decide questions only in the Council of State which formed the ministry. Bernadotte, formerly one of Napoleon's generals, became King Charles XIV in 1818.

The Diet exercised legislative power; it consisted of four estates—nobles, clergy, citizens and peasants—who voted separately. There were two political parties: the cities were aristocratic and conservative, tended to support the King's ministers, and formed "The Right"; the country districts were democratic, they usually opposed the ministry, and were known as "The Left."

B. Economic.

Finances were in a precarious condition. A succession of bad harvests, the departure of the herrings from Swedish waters and the depreciation of paper money had helped to produce a crisis which led to the suspension of cash payments and gravely impaired national credit.

II. Charles XIV, 1818-1844.

Charles XIV, although a Frenchman who could not speak Swedish, gained great influence in Sweden owing to his generosity, his reputation as a soldier, his splendid appearance and personal charm. His fear of criticism led him to adopt repressive measures against the press. The suspicion, probably unfounded, that he used his position to add to his vast private fortune impaired his popularity at the end of his life. But he gave Sweden peace, which enabled her to stabilize her finances, and took an active part in promoting the commercial development of the country.

A. Foreign Policy.

(1) Russia.

Alexander I had cordially recognised Charles XII as King of Sweden and had thus strengthened his somewhat precarious position. Russia yet pressed on Charles on two occasions: in 1818 Alexander protected against his delay in enforcing payment of a debt due from Norway to Denmark; Russia, Prussia and Austria compelled Charles to cancel his sale of warships to Columbia which was in revolt against Spain.

But he generally maintained a good understanding with Russia. In 1830 the problem of the frontiers of Finmark, which seemed likely to lead to war, was amicably settled and thereafter common hatred of Liberalism promoted friendship between Nicholas I and Charles.

(2) Norway.¹

(3) Denmark.

The friendship with Russia was important because Denmark, which strongly resented the cession of Norway, was hostile.

B. Changes in the Council of State.

Political and economic discontent at home, due to Charles' autocratic management of the finances, his ownership of the press, the incapacity of some ministers, the cost of the army, and the progress of Liberalism in France led to the growth of opposition in the Diet.

1840. The opposition became so strong that it compelled the King to change some of his ministers and to divide the ministry into seven departments, each under the direction of one Councillor without whose signature (except in military matters) no measure could become effective.

C. Economic and Commercial Development.

Largely owing to the personal interest of King Charles and to the peace he maintained Sweden prospered.

(1) National credit.

National credit was restored by reducing the cash value of paper money; the Bank was compelled to keep an adequate reserve of coin.

(2) Agriculture and manufactures.

Agriculture improved owing to the introduction of new methods of tillage and the foundation of agricultural schools and societies. The annual output of wheat doubled in ten years.

The manufacture of iron and of machinery took great progress.

(3) Communications.

Communications were improved by the construction of new roads and of the Göta Canal, due largely to Thomas Telford.

The introduction of gas for lighting purposes and the greater use of steam power promoted the development of industry.

(4) English influence.

Sweden owed much of her prosperity to the influence of England. "English cattle, English wools—particularly the Baptists, the English system of smelting and English notions of unlettered industry and commerce entered Sweden together."

[II. Oscar I, 1844-1859.

A. Foreign Policy.

(1) Denmark.

Oscar established friendly relations with Denmark and thought that the Elbe should be the Danish boundary.

1857. Sweden benefited by the action of Denmark in abolishing the Sound dues.

(2) Russia.

Oscar reversed his father's policy towards Russia.

1851. The unsuccessful attempt of Nicholas I to secure rights over the coast of the Vænger Fjord, and his refusal to allow Norwegian Lapps to enter Finland caused much indignation in Sweden.

November, 1855. Oscar made a treaty against Russia with France and Great Britain which guaranteed him protection against Russia.

B. Domestic Policy.

(1) Government.

The government became less harsh. The power to confiscate newspapers and to compel attendance at Lutheran churches was relinquished; the abolition of flogging and the provision of private cells for prisoners mitigated the punishment of criminals.

No important constitutional changes were made, but from

1844. The Diet met every three years instead of five.

1854. The State secured control of the manufacture of brandy, hitherto a domestic industry, and thus took the first step to check the national vice of drunkenness.

(2) Commercial and economic development.

The electric telegraph and the decimal and metric systems were introduced; the coinage and postal systems were reformed; the abolition of the guilds in 1846 gave freedom to workmen; the customs were reduced and in 1857 Free Trade was established.

The total value of manufactures, of imports and exports trebled between 1840 and 1860.

IV. Charles XV, 1859-1872.

A. Foreign Affairs.

The defeat of Russia in the Crimean War led Charles XV to hope that Sweden might again become the leading northern power.

A new political factor appeared in the Pan-Scandinavian Movement which aimed at uniting Norway, Sweden and Denmark for military and foreign affairs, reserving independent internal administration.

1864. Formation of a National Scandinavian Society at Stockholm.

Strong sympathy was felt by Sweden with the Poles and Italians in their struggle for liberty.

His own Pan-Scandinavian views and the prompting of Napoleon III led Charles to promise to help Denmark against the German Confederation. The very small amount of help that was given and the defeat of Denmark in 1864¹ humiliated Sweden.

B. Constitutional Changes, 1865.

Only about two-thirds of the people were enfranchised; the great development of trade and industry had weakened class divisions; the Liberals demanded an extension of the franchise and the abolition of the old Diet with its four orders.

1860. The King accepted a petition for reform presented by the citizens and peasants in spite of the opposition of the nobles and clergy.

(1) Local assemblies.

1862. Local assemblies, elected by property holders without reference to the order to which they belonged, gave self-government to the Communes.

(2) Reform of the Diet, 1865.

December, 1865. The Diet was to consist of two Chambers. The First Chamber consisted of unpaid members possessing incomes of 4000 crowns, elected

¹ Page 577.

by communal councils for nine years. The Second Chamber consisted of members of lower property qualification, who were elected for three years by the country districts and towns and received a salary. The arrangement of the franchise gave the cities an advantage in elections for the "Second Chamber."

The two Chambers were to make laws and pass the budget. In case of disagreement the point at issue was to be settled by the majority vote of a joint session of the two Chambers.

The old system of government by orders was abolished; the Diet became more powerful and the agricultural interest gradually became the strongest element in the Diet.

C. Louis de Geer.

De Geer led the reforming party; he extended religious freedom by wise enactments and by the extension of railways he assisted the continued development of trade and industry. A great development of industry took place after the Franco-German War, and this tended to stop the emigration to America which had followed the triumph of the Young Norse party in Norway and the victories of Prussia, who was unfriendly towards Sweden.

References :

- Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. XI, pp. 637-690.
- A Political History of Contemporary Europe* (Reignebach), pp. 336 et seq.

NORWAY

I. The Union of Norway and Sweden.

A. The Peace of Kiel.

January, 1814. Denmark had supported Napoleon I and was compelled by the Allies to make the Peace of Kiel by which she ceded Norway to Sweden, who had lost Finland and Swedish Pomerania.

B. Prince Christian Frederick of Denmark.

Norway had been united with Denmark in 1380; its language and literature were Danish and national sentiment resented the union with Sweden.

May 17th, 1814. The Norwegians declared their independence and elected the Danish Viceroy, Prince Christian Frederick, as their King.

They established a Constitution on the model of the French Constitution of 1793. It asserted the sovereignty of the people represented by the *Storting*, an elected assembly of two Chambers. The Council of State, nominated by the King, exercised executive powers, but no Councillor could be a member of the *Storting*.

Swedish troops invaded Norway and Christian Frederick abdicated on October 16th, 1814.

C. King Charles XIII of Sweden.

November 4th, 1814. The *Storting* elected Charles XIII of Sweden as King of Norway and he accepted the Constitution.

D. The Settlement of 1815.

August, 1815. The Swedish Riksdag settled the constitutional relations between Norway and Sweden.

Norway was to be a free, independent, indivisible and inalienable kingdom united with Sweden under one King who was to observe the Norwegian Constitution of 1824.

The Norwegian Prime Minister and two Councilors of State were to be in attendance on the King when he was in Sweden.

The Swedish Foreign Minister and Council were to act for Norway.

The cost of defense was to be borne by Norway and Sweden in proportion to their population.

The Vicar of Norway was always to be the Crown Prince of Sweden, or his son.

The removal of Danish officials, the extinction of the Norwegian nobility, the small number of Swedish officials who resided at Christiania, made Norway a thoroughly democratic country.

II. Charles XIV of Sweden.

Charles XIV tried to consolidate the union between Sweden and Norway by acting in accordance with the Settlement of 1812, spending much time in the country and promoting Norwegian trade, manufactures and military interests. Norway developed rapidly and in 1867 a highly democratic system of local government was established.

But Charles XIV failed to conciliate the strong national sentiment of Norway and was continually at issue with the Storting which, in spite of the King's opposition, abolished nobility in 1821, refused to give the King the right of dissolving it or vetoing its proceedings and, in 1829, impeached a ministry for advising the King to violate the Constitution.

The Norwegians celebrated May 17th, the anniversary of Christiana Frederick's acceptance of the throne, as a national holiday, and serious riots broke out in 1829 owing to the efforts of the Government to prevent the celebration.

III. Oscar I, 1844-1859.

Oscar I, who had been a most popular Viceroy, lived on friendly terms with the *Storting*. He recognised the national flag of Norway and resigned the right of appointing a Viceroy. During his reign Dissenters, in 1846, and Jews, in 1851, received religious freedom although office-holders still had to be Lutherans.

IV. Charles XV.

Charles XV was anxious to secure the close union of the two countries, but his refusal in 1869 to confirm the action of the *Storting*, which had abolished the Lord Lieutenantcy, strengthened the opposition of Norway. The arrangement, made in 1869, that the *Storting* was to meet annually increased the power of an assembly which viewed with alarm any proposal to strengthen the King's authority.

The failure to establish a close union was very serious because the defeat of the Danes in 1864 and the growing power of Prussia, the enemy of Scandinavia, made union desirable for the defence of common interests.

V. Prosperity of Norway.

In spite of political differences Norway prospered under its Swedish Kings. The population increased from 1,200,000 in 1815 to 1,800,000 in 1876: the national debt was paid off in 1880 and the expenses of the State were covered by the customs. Norwegian merchant shipping formed a fourth of the total for Europe. Property was widely distributed: the peasants owned much of the land and there were practically no large property holders.

References:

- Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. XI, pp. 675-683.
A Political History of Contemporary Europe (Salisbury),
pp. 528-552.

DENMARK

I. Frederick VI, 1806-1839.

A. Denmark after 1813.

Denmark had lost Norway; its fleet had been surrendered to Great Britain in 1807¹; one-fourth of Copenhagen had been burnt in 1795, the city had been bombarded in 1801 and 1807; the country was bankrupt, largely owing to the wars during the French Empire, and in 1813 paper money was worth only a quarter of its nominal value.

Denmark consisted of the Kingdom of Denmark, Iceland and the Duchies of Schleswig, Holstein and Lauenburg, the last of which was but a poor compensation for the loss of Norway.

The rule of Frederick VI was a benevolent despotism; the officials were drawn from the nobles; the peasants, who had been emancipated in 1788, possessed law, if any, political rights.

B. The Work of Frederick VI.

(1) Constitutional progress.

Little constitutional progress was made under Frederick VI.

1831-1834. Frederick VI created provincial diets for the Islands, Jutland, Schleswig and Holstein, to which bourgeois, landowners and peasants were elected. But the duties of these diets were purely deliberative and advisory.

(2) Demand for constitutional reforms.

A few Liberal aristocrats in Copenhagen started a movement for constitutional reform; the movement was helped by the July Revolution in Paris,² but it accomplished little.

(3) Schleswig-Holstein.

1831. Beginning of the German national movement

¹ *Notes on European History*, Vol. III, page 473.

² Page 11.

in Schleswig-Holstein. Lorenzen, a Swedish official, was imprisoned for voicing the demand of the German inhabitants of the Duchies that their union with Denmark should be purely dynastic. Soon the Germans were to demand incorporation in the German Confederation and complete separation from Denmark.

(4) The debt.

Attempts were made to lessen the crushing national debt, but these met with little success until 1841.

(5) Social progress made.

Frederick VI maintained peace, and the improvement of persons, the extension of education and the establishment of savings banks improved the condition of the people, who were inspired by a great religious revival.

II. The Schleswig-Holstein Question.¹

The problem as to the relations of Denmark with the Duchies practically hindered internal developments during the reigns of Christian VIII (1829-1848) and Frederick VII (1848-1863).

But the Liberals continued their efforts and gained some success.

1848. The press was made free.

1849. An annual Diet consisting of two Chambers and elected by property owners was established and freedom of religion and of public meeting was guaranteed.

III. Christian IX, 1863-1906.

August, 1864. The cession of Schleswig and Holstein to Austria and Prussia ended the attempts that had been made to retain the Duchies by making Denmark practically a federal state. The Liberals, who had fought for the retention of the Duchies and especially Schleswig, now became Conservative, and the Agricultural party, "The Friends of the Peasants," took up the cause of constitutional reform.

¹ Pages 324, 374.

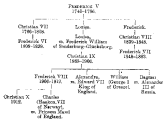
July, 1868. The Constitution was revised. The *Folketing*, the lower Chamber of the Diet, contained a representative body elected on a wide suffrage; the *Landthing*, the upper Chamber, included twelve members nominated by the King and fifty-four elected by voters possessing an income of 2000 crowns.

The Agricultural party objected to the arrangement as anti-democratic; it was carried owing to strong pressure by the Government, and the attempts of the minority, supported by the *Landthing*, to govern in defiance of popular opinion, as expressed in the *Folketing*, led to serious political strife in subsequent years.

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A Political History of Contemporary Europe (Schuytken), pp. 144-177.



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